THE
ŚAKAS IN INDIA

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TO

The Rev. Ross Wilson, M. A.,

as

A Humble Token

of

Admiration For Both

The Man and The Scholar

Extracts from a letter dated November 23, 1946 to my father Pt. Bhagavad Datta from Professor Dr. Sten Konow, (formerly Government of India Epigraphist) Oslo, Norway.

I have read your son's work, (Śakas in India) and we will all be thankful for the great care he has taken in putting the whole Indian material at our disposal so clearly. I am convinced that the future of Indian research can only be safeguarded if Indian and European scholars will work, hand in hand and with mutual regard and understanding. We in Europe will always be happy to collaborate in this way, and it is a good omen that an excellent Indian scholar like your son will partake in the work. It is not, of course, to be expected that there will be a general agreement about the interpretation of all details, but it is essential that we should, on both sides, state our arguments and results as fully and clearly as possible.

Everybody who has tried to elucidate Indian chronology will know how many difficulties still remain to be cleared up, and in the last years a new and serious one has turned up through the discovery of a Parthian era of 245 ? B. C. It is a good thing that we have learnt that the Seleucid era was never used in India, but the Parthian has evidently played a greater role than we should have expected, and I am much obliged to your son in this connection for reminding me of the Girdharpur and Kankāli Ṭila inscriptions. With regard to the well-known Śaka era of 79 A. D. I quite agree with him that it was not introduced by Kaniṣka, but is considerably older than his accession, which can hardly be put earlier than about the middle of the second century A. D. I am still convinced that the ruler who first used it was Wima Kadphises.

Sd/- Sten Konow

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION

In my third year class I prepared a short bibliography of the lost Sanskrit dramas from stray references about them in Sanskrit literature. Soon after finishing my B.A. examination, I began to prepare a *devanāgarī* text of the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas. On examination the number of these inscriptions was found to be much less than expected. However, I went on with this work, and my interest grew in the subject. I then tried to note and collect the necessary literature concerning it. Meanwhile I selected the present thesis for my M.A.

After securing and studying the available books and articles on the subject, I came to the conclusion that only a few scholars have done any pioneering work in this field of ancient Indian history. The names of Śrī Bhagvanlal Indraji, Prof. E. J. Rapson and Dr. Sten Konow will always be remembered with admiration by the future historians. '*The Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc.*' by Prof. Rapson and the '*Kharosthi Inscriptions*' by Dr. Sten Konow are monumental works. The patience, the energy, the labour, the keen insight and deep erudition displayed by them are admirable. With their works as the basis of my study I entered into this difficult and dry subject.

Another scholar who has worked in this field of research was Śrī K. P. Jayaswal. It was he who brought to light the war of Nahapāna with a Sātavāhana king from a Jain source. He showed that Bharukaccha was the capital of Nahapāna. The Yuga-purāṇa of the Gārgī Samhitā, an important source on this subject, only noticed by H. Kern, was edited for the first time by Śrī Jayaswal. It has proved very useful for a reconstruction of the history of the period.

Besides these works a large number of scholars have been contributing from time to time most important articles in various

research journals. I have used them in their proper places, acknowledging my debt.

Some recent works and articles have proved very useful. Dr. Sten Konow while revising the period has thrown a new light on the subject in his article, '*Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*'. The '*Date of Nahapāna*' as discussed by V. R. Deoras in his article (Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore session) is worth study. The laborious work of Dr. K. Gopalachari, '*The Early History of the Andhra Country*, supplies a summary of the different aspects of the reigns of Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I.

The ancient Indian tradition is very useful in filling up some of the important details. Most of it so far lies unexplored. Twenty seven references from this source of Indian history have been collected here. Of all these the *gāthās* of *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* have been of most help. These *gāthās* were first printed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his introduction to '*The Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar* (1926)'. The attention of scholars was not attracted to this rare source for a long time. It was in the Hindi *History of Bharatavarṣa* by Pandit Bhagavad Datta that the *gāthās* were fully utilized and their importance was emphasized. According to R. B. Hira Lal and other scholars this work was composed in the latter part of the 5th century A.D. The duration of the reigns of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana and the family of Caṣṭana are all recorded in these gāthās. Important information from tradition has been made available in this thesis. Many of these references were unknown so far. Some of them are noted below, *e.g.*,

(*i*) Presence of the Śakas in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana referred to in *Majmal-ut-Tawārikh*; (p. 2)

(*ii*) The derivation of the word Śaka according to the Purāṇas; (p. 3f)

(*iii*) Reference to the food of the Śakas in the *Caraka saṃhitā*; (p. 15)

(*iv*) Mention of Śaka-wells (Śaka-andhu) by Pāṇini; (p. 16)

(*v*) The word Romaka and its explanation.

(*vi*) *The Śaka Era.* A lot of new material on this point has been presented in this thesis. Alberuni's statement that the Śaka era

was started at the death of a Śaka tyrant gave me the impetus to search for the source of his information. This information has been traced to be contained in astronomical works which go back from Alberuni's time to 628 A.D.

Moreover both inscriptional and literary proofs have been given to substantiate the view put forward that there were two Śaka eras, one starting from the beginning of the Śaka rule and the other started by a Śakāri Vikrama at the expiry of the Śakas; (p. 35 ff)

(*vii*) A suitable explanation of the name 'Kardamaka kings' has been suggested; (p. 68)

(*viii*) The references to Śakāri Vikrama will be found useful in Chapter VII.

The history of the Western Kṣatrapas, after the rule of Rudradāman I is very obscure. I have only collected notes about them from the writings of Śrī Bhagvanlal Indraji, Prof. Rapson and others. With the scanty material available more than this was not possible.

In Chapter IX an attempt has been made to collect only new points about the various customs of the Śakas. Dr. K. Gopalachari and others have made attempts to throw light on this aspect of the history of the Śakas also. Anyhow the material presented here from Sanskrit sources is quite new.

Recently it has been felt that a text of all the inscriptions of the various dynasties should be published in one place. Realizing the importance of the need, a *devanāgarī* text of all the inscriptions of the Western kṣatrapas has been given in the appendix. Three inscriptions could not be included in this list as their text was not easy of access. Other appendices will also prove useful.

The thesis in its printed form is revised and enlarged. My sincere thanks are due to my respected teacher the Rev. Ross Wilson, the then Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab, who has corrected me in so many places and has given me valuable suggestions ungrudgingly.

I am very thankful to Dr. A. L. Śrīvāstava, now Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab, who has been and is always encouraging and guiding me in research work and Prof. R. R. Sethi, Panjab University Lecturer in History for some of his suggestions.

I acknowledge my sincere indebtedness to Pt. Vishvanath, my school-teacher in history, who has gone through the thesis and given many valuable suggestions and Pt. Bhagavad Datta, Director, Vedic Research Institute, who has given me the insight to find out material from ancient Indian literature to construct Indian history.

I offer my sincerest thanks to Miss C. L. H. Geary, Principal, Lahore College for Women for seeing the book through the press. Many of her suggestions were extremely valuable.

The fine get-up of the book in these hard days is due to the loving care of L. Khazanchi Ram Jain, Proprietor, Messrs Meharchand Lachman Das. The book would not have seen the light of day but for his ungrudging help in printing it.

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SATYA SHRAVA

CHAPTER I

THE ŚAKAS

I. ANTIQUITY OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

Śakas are known to have existed in history from a very early time. They are mentioned in the Behistun (Bistūn), Persepolis, Hamadan and Naqsh-i-Rustūm inscriptions of Darius or Dārayavahush.[1] This king is assigned to 526-486 B. C. His inscriptions are found in three versions. The Persian version has preserved the word Śaka exactly as it is found in Sanskrit. On the authority of Herodotus also we know that the Śakas are earlier than the time of Darius. Herodotus writes: 'the Scythians before the time of Darius conquered the Medes' and "became masters of Asia."[2] According to this same author the Śakas were known during the time of Sesostris, a king of Egypt, who also preceded Darius.[3] Herodotus has another definite piece of information on this point. He writes:—'Scythians add that from the time of their first king to the invasion of their country by Darius. is a period of one thousand years, neither less nor more.'[4]

1 Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation Vol. I, ed. by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta 1942, pp. 4-11. 2 Herodotus, Tr. G. Rawlinson, Book I. Chap. 104. 3 Herodotus, Tr. G. Rawlinson, Book II. Chap. 110. 4 Herodotus, Tr. G. Rawlinson, Book IV. Chap. 7.

It may, therefore, be safely concluded that if the date which is proposed for Darius i. e. 526-486 B. C. be regarded as true, then the Śakas appeared in the history of nations from about 1500 B. C.

The source of this information of Herodotus may have been faulty, or it may have been that the first king of a particular tribe of the Śakas, whose family ruled without break for 1000 years, was installed at that date. The Śakas are placed centuries before this date by Sanskrit works. As will be seen in a later chapter, the mercenary Śaka soldiers fought on the side of Duryodhana in the battle of Mahābhārata. If this statement be regarded as true, and there is no cogent reason to disbelieve it, then it should be remembered that the Śaka tribe existed before *circa* 2400 B.C., a date proposed for the Bhārata battle on very good grounds.[1] Not this alone, but the Mahābhārata also states that Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and Śakas lived in the delta (of Sindhu).[2]

The fact that Śakas or a sub-clan of this tribe existed in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana is strengthened by an interesting piece of information from an entirely different source, Majmal-ut-Twārikh, a work in Persian (of *circa* the 12th Century A.D.), which is a translation of an Arabic work of *circa* 1026 A.D., which again was a translation of an ancient Sanskrit text and contains the following account:—

"The Jats and Meds dwelt in Sind (on the banks) of the river which is called Bahar. These two tribes used to quarrel with each other very often, to enfeeble and to have ascendency over the other. Once they both being advised

1 J.R.A.S. of Bengal, Letters, part III. 1937, printed 1939, by P. C. Sen Gupta, pp. 101-119. 2 सागरकुक्षिस्थ Sabhā Parva, 35, 17.

by a Jat chief approached the King Dayushe (Duryodhana) and begged him to nominate a person to rule over them."[1]

The account proceeds further and it is stated that Duhśalā the sister of Duryodhana married to Jayadratha, the king of Sind, was appointed the ruler.

These Jats are no other than the Massagetæ (the great Getæ) mentioned in Diodorus[2] as an off-spring of the ancient Śaka tribe. The Jats and Śakas belong to the same original Caspian type as is well known now.[3] Colonel James Tod showed long ago the oneness of the Śakas with the later Getes, the Jotes, the Jits, the Goths and the Jetas.[4]

These Jats and Medes living in Sind at such an early date must have had intercourse with some other western tribes now extinct. The excavations at Mohenjo-dāṛo have revealed the traces of four such ancient races: the Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian, and Alpine[5] who lived in that city of Sind with other peoples at a period anterior to 2500 B.C.

The Śakas, therefore, have been known in Indian history from at least 2400 B.C., the period of the Mahābhārata war.

II. THE NAME ŚAKA AND ITS MEANING

Greek writers have thrown no light on the origin of this name. It is only through a study of the Purāṇas that we come across a plausible origin, but one which has still to be verified. Some Purāṇas state that this land had once

1 The History of India as told by its own Historians, Mohammedan Pd., Elliot & J.Dowson, 1867, Vol. I. p. 104. 2 Book II Chap. 43. 3 Ancient Races and Myths by C. Chakraberty, Calcutta, p. VII. 4 Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Popular edition, 1914 pp. 49-53. 5 The Indus Civilization by E. Mackay, London, 1935, p. 200.

a network of some rivers and their tributaries had the shape of a Śaka or a teak tree.[1] In India the word Sāgavāna a corruption of Sanskrit Śaka is used even up to this day for the teak tree. This may also mean that the delta of some rivers of this land had this shape. A Purāṇa says that there was a Śaka mountain in the Śakadvīpa, and hence the name of this land.[2] This mountain may have been rich in the growth of Śaka trees. On the other hand in various Sanskrit dictionaries we can trace its meaning as a tree,[3] an island,[4] a kṣatriya,[5] a country,[6] a tribe,[6] and a king.[6]

III. THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ŚAKAS

THE GREEK ACCOUNT

Herodotus[7] gives a vivid description of Scythia:—

"99. Before you come to Scythia, on the sea coast, lies Thrace. The land here makes a sweep, and then Scythia begins, the Ister (Danube) falling into the sea at this point with its mouth facing the east."

"100. Beyond this tract, we find the Scythians again in possession of the country above the Tauri and the parts bordering on the eastern sea, as also of the whole district lying west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis (the sea of Azof), as far as the river Tanaïs, which empties itself into that lake at its upper end. ...."

"101. Scythia, then, which is square in shape and has two of its sides reaching down to the sea, extends inland to the same distance that it stretches along this coast, and is equal every way."

1 Vāyu Ch. 49, 88 and 89. 2 Matsya 123; 36. 3 Viśvaprakāśakoṣa p. 5, sl. 35. 4 Ibid; Nānārthaśabdakoṣa p. 3, sl. 36. Nānārthasaṃgraha p. 87, sl. 36. Madras Ed. 5 Viśvaprakāśakoṣa p. 4, 25. 6 Nānārthaśabdakoṣa (Jivānanda Ed.) p. 3, sl. 35. 7 Book IV.

Diodorus of Sicily[1] (*circa* 57 B. C.) informs us that the Scythians were already 'inhabiting the country bordering upon India.' "This people originally possessed little territory, but later, as they gradually increased in power, they seized much territory........ At first, then, they dwelt in the Araxes (The Aras) river, but since acquired territory in the mountains as far as the Caucasus, and in the steppes along the ocean and lake Mæotis (the sea of Azof) and in the rest of that country as far as the Tanais river."

The latter part of the description of Diodorus is practically the same as that of Herodotus. But during his own time or a little before him the Śakas had already extended their territory towards the borders of India. This territory was named Seistān or Śakasthāna.

Strabo has a general remark to offer on this point. He says, "All the tribes east of the Caspian are called Scythic. The Dahæ next the sea, the Massagetæ (Great Getæ) and Sacæ more eastward...."[2]

THE SANSKRIT ACCOUNT

The Purāṇas[3] present a vivid description of Śakadvīpa. Their account appears to be older than the Greek one, because according to them this people was highly civilized. The Mahābhārata also describes the Śaka sub-continent. Nundo Lal De in his Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India[4] has compared the names of some of the provinces, states or janapadas, rivers and mountains of the Śakadvīpa as found in the Mahābhārata with the same as found in Ptolemy's

1 Book II. 43. 2 Strabo XI, p. 254. 3 Matsya 122, 3-34, Vāyu 49, 74-99 4 See the word Śākadvīpa.

description of Scythia. A few of these may be mentioned here:—

PROVINCES

Mahābhārata.	*Ptolemy.*
Kumuda.	Komedai.
Sukumāra.	Komaroi.
Jalada.	Golaktophagoi.
Jaladhara.	Salateroi or Zaratoi

STATES

Mṛga	Margiana.
Maśaka.	Messagetai
Mandaga	Makhaitegoi

RIVERS

Ikṣu, (Cakṣu or Vakṣu) Oxus

MOUNTAINS

Śyāmagiri	Kaukasos (including Mustag mountain which means the black mountain)
Durga Śaila and (Kesari)	The El-Burz (Durga and Burz both mean a fort). Kesar or saffron is found there.

Saffron grows on Persian mountains even today.

All the ancient Sanskrit sources agree that the river Vakṣu or Oxus passed through the Śakadvīpa.[1] The Matsya[2] Purāṇa states that Vakṣu or Cakṣu takes a westernly course. So also states the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.[3]

1 (i) साम्भ्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्पह्लवान्दरदाञ्छकान् ।
एताञ्जनपदाश्चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ॥ Vāyu 47, 44 and

(ii) तुषारान्बर्बराकारान्पह्लवान्पारदाञ्छकान् ।
एताञ्जनपदाश्चक्षुः प्लावयित्वोदधिं गता ॥ Matsya 121, 45.

2 121, 40. 3 सुचक्षुश्चैव सीता च सिन्धुश्चैव महानदी । Bālakāṇḍa 43, 14.

The Mahābhārata states that the Kṣīroda sāgara[1] or the Caspian sea was encircled in parts by the Śakadvīpa.[2]

The Vāyu Purāṇa has a little different reading and says that the Kṣīroda encircled the Śakadvīpa.[3] The Vāyu Purāṇa also adds that Śakadvīpa touched Dadhi (or Dahæ of the Greeks) and Manḍodaka (or the Median?) Sea.[4] The Matsya Purāṇa says that the Śakadvīpa encircled the Lavaṇa sea.[5] The Mahābhārata also says that the Mṛgas–a part of the Śakadvīpa–or the people of the Margiana, were brāhmaṇas[6] and the Maśakas or the Massagetæ were kṣatriyas or warriors.[7] So also vaiśyas and śūdras lived in other parts of the Śaka land. Compare with this the statement of Herodotus:—

"The intermediate space was occupied by the Husbandmen (Georgi) or agricultural Scythians."[8] This fact is corroborated by Vāyu Purāṇa,[9] where it is said that the different kingdoms of the Śaka land contained people of the four castes. This account of the Mahābhārata depicts a very early phase in the life of this tribe.

These once civilized tribes of the Śakadvīpa became nomadic and uncultured long before the time of

1 Kṣīroda Sāgara was a name of the Caspian sea, because its later form Shirwan is used for the Caspian sea. See, Sir Henry Yule's "Marco Polo", Vol. I. p. 59.

2 शाकद्वीपं च वक्ष्यामि यथावदिह पार्थिव ।

....

क्षीरोदो भरतश्रेष्ठ येन संपरिवारितः ॥ Bhiṣma Parva 11. 9, 10.

3 क्षीरोदेन समुद्रेण सर्वतः परिवारितः ॥

शाकद्वीपस्तु विस्तारात्समेन तु समन्ततः ॥ Vāyu 49. 99.

4 परिवार्यं समुद्रं स दधिमण्डोदकं स्थितः ॥ Vāyu 49. 75.

5 तेनाऽऽवृतः समुद्रोऽयं द्वीपेन लवणोदधिः ॥ Matsya 122. 3.

6 Bhīṣma 11, 36. 7 Ibid 11, 37. 8 History of Ancient Geography, by E. H. Bunbury, 1883, p. 185; Herodotus IV, 18.

9 तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यसमन्विताः ॥ Vāyu 49, 90. Also.

तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यसमन्विताः ॥ Matsya 122, 28.

Herodotus and even during the time of the Mahābhārata war, for it is recorded there that these once kṣatriya tribes became degraded for want of brāhmaṇa preachers.[1]

IV. EXPANSION OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

It has been shown above that a small band of the Śakas inhabited a portion of the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana.[2] In course of time more Śaka hordes came to these regions, and the whole region was then called by the name of Indo-Scythia or the region of Sindhu Śakas. To the Greeks this name was well-known. They speak of the Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia. According to Ptolemy,[3] this territory of the Śakas extended on both sides of the Indus from the Kabul river to the Arabic sea. Arrian in his Indika writes:—

"The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala."[4]

The commentator on these lines has not grasped the meaning of the word Pattala. He regards its Sanskrit equivalent Pātāla as mere mythology.[5]

The Indus-delta was called Patalene (or Pātāla?), the country to the North and North East Abiria and the South-Eastern province Syrastiene i.e. Surāṣṭra. Ptolemy again remarks "and in the island formed by the river (Indus) are these towns, Patala, Barberi." Dionysius Periegeta,[6] speaks about the Southern Scythians as settled on the Indus and his commentator Eustathius states *that by the words Southern Scythians the Indo-*Scythians are meant.

1 शका यवनकाम्भोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ Mahābhārata Anuśāsana Parva 68. 21. 2 p. 3 3 VII. I. 55, 62. 4 Ancient India Megasthenese and Arrian by McCrindle, Calcutta Ed. 1926 p. 187. 5 Ibid. 6 V, 1088.

In the Periplus (assigned date 40 A.D.) Scythia *i. e.* Indo-Scythia is spoken of as being under Parthian rule. So it appears that at the time of that work *i.e.* in the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D., Indo-Scythia had come under the rule of the Parthians. The possible conclusion from the above statements is that the stronghold of the Scythians was in the Indus region, especially in the lower Indus region, and that the Śaka conquest had been effected long before the 2nd half of the 1st century A. D.

Śakasthāna doubtless included the district of Scythia, mentioned in the Periplus, from which flows the river Sinthus (Indus) the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythræan sea (Indian Ocean). The metropolis of Scythia in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.[1]

The name of the capital of Scythia and of the kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidor.[2] There is another fact which has been again recently supported. According to it, 'the region of Chakansur, just to the west of the Bolan Pass, has been reclaimed as one of the important centres of the ancient Śakasthāna."[3]

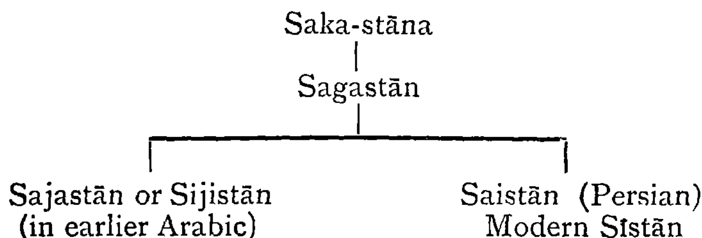
A Śaka empire in the Indus country and even beyond it is known from other classical sources also. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Śaka power to Kathiawar and the use of the imperial title *King of Kings* (Ṣāhānuṣāhī) among the Śakas, is attested by coins.[4]

1 P. H. A. I. p. 362, 4th Ed. 2 Quoted in J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 830.
3 Geographical Journal 1934, p. 356, as quoted in Indian Culture, Vol. V. p. 117.
4 C. I. I. Vol. II. pt. I. p. XXVII.

The Purāṇas[1] speak of Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhilla dynasty in Ujjain.

So a Śaka empire, with the emperor using the title '*King of Kings*' (Ṣāhānuṣāhī) existed in the Indus country some time before the establishment of the Vikrama Era or even long before it. Its centre of gravity seems to have been on the western shores of the lower Indus.

Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests[2] the following gradual variations of the word Śakasthāna:—



This Sīstān spread to the Indus river, and from their Indus abode the Śakas were taken to Kathiawar by the Jain Ācārya Kālaka. They settled in western India and there founded a kingdom of their own. From that place they penetrated into middle India as far as Mathurā, to Jabalpur,[3] and up to the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[4] (Śrīparvata) territory in the eastern Deccan. After a rule of about three centuries they were subdued by the Guptas and in course of some more centuries they were fully absorbed by the Hindus.

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1 सप्त गर्दभिला भूयो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिश्च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु ॥ Dynasties of the Kali Age. p. 46.

2 Quoted in the Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Ray, Vol. I, p. 65 note No. 1. 3 See Chap. III. 4 Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE ŚAKAS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

It is unfortunate that almost all modern students of ancient Indian history have largely discarded the ancient tradition. Being ignorant of its immense value, they have not been able to give a connected account of India's past. When, on the other hand, we peep into the various branches of Sanskrit literature we find a vast and accurate store of information preserved therein. In this chapter, therefore, references to Śakas in Sanskrit, Jain, and Buddhist works have been collected. The works are quoted in their traditional chronological order, for, otherwise they would lose their real value. Recent researches have shown that with new finds the traditional chronology is being proved correct to a great extent. These references will help to fill in the gaps in the Śaka history.

1. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki* has many references to the Śakas.[1] In it there are accounts of struggles between the ancient Āryans of India and the mixed hordes of Yavanas and Śakas. These struggles will be related at length under the heading Purāṇas. In the Kiṣkindhā

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1 (i) भूय एवासृजद्घोरान् शकान् यवनमिश्रितान् ।
तैरासीत्संवृता भूमिः शकैर्यवनमिश्रितैः ॥ Bālakāṇḍa, 54. 21. and
(ii) योनिदेशाच्च यवनाः शकृद्देशाच्छकास्तथा ॥ 55. 3.

Kāṇḍa[1] the Śakas are enumerated with the Kambojas, Yavanas and Bāhlīkas.

2. Next in chronological order comes the *Mahābhārata*, the second great epic of India. The mention of Śakas at such an ancient period (*circa* 2400 B.C.) in the Mahābhārata is genuine as it is found in varied places in various *parvas* of this text. If the passages about the Śakas be regarded as interpolated then it should be borne in mind that interpolations could not have been so very systematic throughout the text, in all the manuscripts of so many and such widely separated places in India.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA DIFFERENTIATES BETWEEN THE ŚAKAS AND THE TUṢĀRAS

The second great epic of India clearly distinguishes between Śakas and Tuṣāras and mentions them along with Yavanas[2]. Tuṣāras or the later Kuśānas are not mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and they may, therefore, probably be of a later origin. Bhīṣma Parva shows that they fought in the great Bhārata war. Karṇa Parva also confirms this view.[3] In the Bhārata war the Śakas sided with the Kurus.[4] This differentiation between these two tribes is found throughout the Sanskrit literature.

KṢATRIYA ŚAKAS BECOME A LOW-CASTE PEOPLE

The Mahābhārata further states that Śakas, Yavanas and Kambojas became vṛṣalas or low-class people by not

1 काम्बोजान् यवनांश्चैव शकानारट्टकानपि ।
बाह्लीकानृषिकांश्चैव पौरवानथ टङ्कणान् ॥ 43. 12.

2 तुषारा यवनाश्चैव शकाश्च सह चूचुपैः । Bhīṣma Larva 75, 21.

3 शकास्तुषारा यवनाश्च सादिनः
सहैव काम्भोजवरैर्जिघांसवः ॥ Karna Parva 94, 16.

4 उदीच्यकाम्बोजशकैः खशैश्च । Udyoga Parva 158. 20. Poona Ed.

associating with brāhmaṇas.[1] They are often classed with Barbaras and Mlechas and sometimes reckoned as Mlechas. The Indians of the time of Mahābhārata knew the Śakas closely because they had already settled on the banks of the Indus as stated in Chapter I on the authority of Majmal-ut-Tawārikh.

3. Śakas along with Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kambojas are also mentioned in the *Bhṛgu Saṃhitā* of *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. According to this work they sank to the position of low caste people by the omission of kṣatriya rites and because they were neglected by the brāhmaṇas.[2] This statement is similar to the statement of Mahābhārata noted above.

4. *Purāṇas*—Some of the *Purāṇas* refer to the Śakas along with other foreign tribes who had penetrated as far as Ayodhyā and their defeat and humiliation by Sagara the son of Bāhu. The story in these *Purāṇas*[3] is almost identical and runs thus: Bāhu was ill and the Haihayas, Tālajanghas and Śakas and other tribes uniting wrested his kingdom from him. His posthumous son Sagara determined to exterminate the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. When he was slaughtering them they fled to *Vasiṣṭha* for protection. The muni made a compact with them, stopped Sagara and saved them, but Sagara destroyed their laws of religion and changed their mode of dress. He made the Śakas shave half the head. He deprived them of the recitation of the

1 शका यवनकाम्भोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ Anuśāsana Parva 68. 21.

2 वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ Manusmṛti X. 43, 44.

3 Brahmāṇḍa, Ch. 63. Vāyu, Ch. 88. Viṣṇu, Ch. 8 etc.

Veda and the exclamation 'Vaṣaṭ.'[1] These hordes of kṣatriya tribes seem to have remained and settled down in parts of India as a long interval passed between the defeat of Bāhu and their consequent defeat by Sagara. A remarkable feature in the narrative is that they are not spoken of as Mlechas or barbarians. Nor is there any suggestion that the Śakas and four other tribes were different in religion from the people of Ayodhyā, who professed the Vedic religion. Arguing cogently Pargiter[2] has concluded that 'these five foreign tribes were Kṣatriyas and of much the same religion as Vasiṣṭha and Sagara.' They fell steadily in Indian estimation later on. By the time of the Bhārata battle they were classed as degraded tribes. Pargiter is of opinion that 'the story in this ballad could not have been composed in after time.[3] It is, therefore, considerably anterior to the Mahābhārata period.

WESTERN KṢATRAPAS IN THE PURĀṆAS

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas mention eighteen Śaka kings who ruled after the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in some province of India.[4] But only sixteen are mentioned in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas.[5]

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1 अर्धं शकानां शिरसो मुंडयित्वा व्यसर्जयत् ।
यवनानां शिरः सर्वं कंबोजानां तथैव च ॥
पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणः ।
निःस्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ Vāyu 88. 140, 141.

Compare it with Harivaṃśa as quoted in 'A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature' by Max Muller, Allahabad 1912. p. 28.

2 J. R. A. S. 1919, p. 359. (The above substance is mainly from Pargiter's account.) 3. Ibid, p. 361.

4 सप्त गर्दभिनश्चापि शकाश्चाष्टादशैव तु । Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 45.

5 दश गर्दभिनो नृपाः । शकाः षोडश भूपालाः । Ibid.

But the readings of Manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa[1] though mutilated certainly establish that eighteen Śakas were sufficiently powerful to be mentioned as kings out of thirty. The remaining twelve may have been some petty rulers during the periods of decline of the Śaka power. In Manjuśri-mūla-kalpa they are described as Madhyamas *i.e.* kings of the Madhya country and are located in the North-midland.

There is some discrepancy in the accounts given by the various Purāṇas about the duration of the Śaka dynasty. The Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas assign to them 380 years.[2] Pargiter[3] takes 183 years to be the duration. But the duration of 300 years of 'e' ms. of Vāyu Purāṇa seems to be correct. It will be shown later that they actually reigned for about 300 years. The coins which range from 41 to 310 are the best proof of this.

5. *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā and Parāśara Saṃhitā* are two very ancient works on astronomy. Varāhamihira (505 A.D. ?) describes these books as the productions of munis, which means that they belong to the Mahābhārata period. Śakas are mentioned along with Yavanas and Kukuras in these works.[4]

6. In the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, a medical work, we find mention of the diet of the Śakas. They used to take

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1 शकवंश तदा त्रिंशत् मनुजेशा निबोधता ॥६११॥
दशाष्ट भूपतयः ख्याता सार्धभूतिकमध्यमा ॥६१२॥

2 (i) सप्तगर्दभिला भूयो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु ॥ Matsya,
(ii) शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शकाः ॥ Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46. 3 Ibid p. 72.

4 (i) प्रागर्धं नर्मदायाश्च शोणाः शबरमागधाः ।
भद्रा बङ्गाः कलिङ्गाश्च बाह्लीका यवनाः शकाः ॥
(ii) रौद्रे शकान् कुकुरान् पल्वलोपजीविनश्च । Quoted in Adbhuta Sāgara (Kashi Ed. V. S. 1962) pp. 10 and 65 respectively.
Also quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on Bṛhat Saṃhitā p. 218.

meat, wheat flour and mādhvīka, an intoxicating drink.[1]

7. *Pāṇini*, the great Sanskrit grammarian, (earlier than the 4th century B.C.) is the next author who mentions the Śakas. In his Gaṇapāṭha the name Śaka appears at many places,[2] and *Kāśikā*, a commentary on his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*circa* the 7th century A.D.) supports these readings.[3]

8. *Kātyāyana* (earlier than the 3rd century B.C.) is the next great author who mentions the Śakas. In his *vārtika* on the work of Pāṇini, he uses the expression '*Sakandhu*'.[4] This means that he not only knew the Śakas but also knew the wells *(andhu)* sunk by them. This word is traceable to the *Gaṇapāṭha*[5] of Pāṇinī also and the *Kāśikā*[6] regards it as an integral part of the text of *Gaṇapāṭha*.

9. *Patañjali*, (earlier than the 2nd century B.C.) the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has used the compound *Śaka-Yavana*,[7] so it is clear that he knew the Śakas along with the Yavanas. "Professor Bhandarkar deduces from the instance of the *dvandva* compound that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had already established their power in the north-west of India in the age of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C."[8]

10. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata-Muni* Śakas are mentioned along with Ābhīras and Cāṇḍālas.[9]

According to Professor A. B. Keith "we cannot place

1 बाह्लीकाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः शूलीका यवनाः शकाः ।
मांसगोधूममाध्वीकशस्त्रवैश्वानरोचिताः ॥ Cikitsā Sthāna Ch. 30, 316.

2 IV. 1. 175; IV. 3, 92; V. 4, 38. 3 II. 1, 60; IV. I, 175., IV. 2, 120. 4 I. 1, 64. 5 IV. 1, 151. 6 IV. 1, 151. 7 II. 4, 10. 8 Quoted in Indian Culture, Vol. V., p. 116.

9 शकाराभीरचण्डाल शबरद्रमिलान्ध्रजाः ।
हीना वनेचराणां च विभाषा नाटके स्मृता ॥ Ch. 17, 50.

it *(Nāṭyaśāstra)* before the 3rd century A.D."[1] This view is, however, extremely conservative. Sāgaranandin's work Nāṭaka-Lakṣaṇa-Ratna-Koṣa (12th century A.D.) published recently in Oxford mentions that king Harṣa-Vikrama and Mātṛgupta both commented on this work.[2] Again the Buddhist patriarch Rāhulaka (235 A.D.)[3] also used the *Nāṭyaśāstra.*[4] The date of Bharata's work is much earlier; Kālidāsa also remembers him as a muni.

11. The *Yuga Purāṇa of Gārgī Saṁhitā* has a good deal to say about the advent, depredations and end of the Śakas. A tyrant Śaka king Amlāṭa is described and the tyranny of Śakas in general is also related.[5] After the Yavanas, hordes of Śakas invaded parts of India during the Śuñga regime. According to K. P. Jayaswal this text belongs to the 1st century A. D.[6]

12. There is a Prākrit work *Paumacariya,* of Vimalasūri. Dr. H. Jacobi does not accept the date of its composition, given at the end of the work as 530 A. V. (after Vīra or Mahāvīra). But Dr. Winternitz accepts this date.[7] Dr. Jacobi writes in his introduction to the Pariśiṣṭa Parvan :—

1 The Sanskrit Drama, p. 13.

2 श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्तगर्गाश्मकुट्टनखकुट्टकबादराणाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य घुष्टं मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ॥ p. 134.

3 B. Bhattacarya, Foreword to the Tattvasaṅgraha, p. LXIX.

4 Abhinavagupta's commentary, Vol. I, p. 155, 172.

5 ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकर्मोपहताः प्रजाः ।
करिष्यन्ति चका (शका) घो [रा] बहुलाश्च इति श्रुतिः ।
चतुर्भागं तु शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यंति प्राणिनाम् ।
हरिष्यन्ति शकाः षोशं (कोशं ? तेषां?) चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरं ।
ततः प्रजायां शेप्रायां तस्य राज्यस्य परिक्षयात् ।

6 J.B.O.R.S., 1928, p. 404 and ibid, 1929, p. 131. 7 A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 477.

"in it (Paumacariya) the Yavanas and Śakas are mentioned, not as newly settled in India but as living there since time immemorial."[1] It is certain that the Jain author Vimalasūri regarded the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa as authentic texts and consequently believed in the antiquity of the Śakas in or near India as described in these works.

13. The *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha of Vāgabhaṭṭa*, a native of Sindhu, states that the reddish cheeks of Śaka women, and Śaka lords were due to the use of *palāṇḍu* or onion as an article of their diet.[2]

14. In the drama *Pādatāḍitakam* of mahākavi Śyāmilaka, a Śaka prince of Surāṣṭra is mentioned along with a Gupta heir-apparent.[3]

15. Some *gāthās* of the *Tiloya Paṇṇattī*, a Jain work of the 5th century A.D., throw a good deal of light on the chronology of Nahapāna and the Caṣṭanas or the Western Kṣatrapas.[4] The *Tiloya Paṇṇattī* records that 461 years after the death of Mahāvīra the Śakas came into prominence....They (or Caṣṭana's dynasty) ruled for 242 years. Gāthā No. 98 states that the Guptas succeeded the Caṣṭanas as rulers.[5]

From these statements it appears that Nahapāna

1 p. XIX, 1932 ed.

2 रसोनानन्तरं वायोः पलाण्डुः परमौषधम् ।
साक्षादिव स्थितं यत्र शकाधिपतिजीवितम् ॥
यस्योपयोगेन शकाङ्गनानां लावण्यसारादिविनिर्मितानाम् ।
कपोलकान्त्या विजितः शशाङ्को रसातलं गच्छति निर्विदेव ॥ Uttara tantra, Ch. 49.

3 Caturabhāṇī pp. 7 and 39, Patna ed. 1922.

4 86–89; 93–99.

5 दोण्णिसदा पणवण्णा गुत्ताणं चउमुहस्सवादालं ।
वस्सं होदिसहस्सं केईएवं परूवंति ॥९४॥
भच्छट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णि सयाइं हवंति वादाला ।
तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोण्णिय सयामि इगितीसा ॥९८॥ Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the C. P. and Berar by Hiralal, p. XVI.

ascended the throne in 421 after Mahāvīra's death. The total of the reigns of Nahapāna and the Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas or the Śakas was 282 years. The author of this work, in the 5th century A. D., believed the Śakas to be Caṣṭanas and none else.

The late Dr. Hira Lal Sud commenting on these *gāthās* interprets *Bhac-chaṭṭhaṇāṇa* (भच्छट्ठणाण) as "probably Bhṛtya Āndhras or Āndhra-bhṛtyas." Following his lead the editors of this work have also translated the word as Bhṛtya-Āndhras. But this Sanskrit rendering of the Prākrit form is altogether untenable. The Sanskrit form is Caṣṭana and they belonged to the Śaka race.

In the Jain *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (783 A.D.) a literal translation of these Prākrit *gāthās* into Sanskrit is found.[1] There the word for Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas is "Bhaṭaṭubāṇa." This reading is sufficiently corrupt, but it certainly is not Bhṛtya-Āndhras.

16. According to the astronomical work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*,[2] a Śakeśvara or a Śaka overlord of Rumma-deśa was defeated by Vikramāditya. He was taken through the bazars of Ujjayini as a captive and later released. Not understanding the significance and meaning of the word '*Ruma*' or '*Romaka*,' Captain Wilford writes :[3]

"Vicrama is supposed to have waged war with the Romans, all the time that he lived : that is to say for 145 years : and to have taken one of their emperors prisoner,

1 Chapter 63, verses 487, 488, and 552.

2 यो रुमदेशाधिपतिं शकेश्वरं जित्वा गृहीत्वोज्जयिनीं महाहवे ।
आनीय संभ्राम्य मुमोचयत्त्वहो स विक्रमार्कः समसह्यविक्रमः ॥ Ch. 22, 17.

3 Essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana by Captain Wilford, Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, 1809, p. 119.

whom he carried in triumph through the streets of Ujjayini"

In the Purāṇas we find Romaka, a territory of the Sindhus.[1] This word is found in the *gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini also.[2] Alberuni[3] also enumerates this Romaka or Ruma amongst the territories of the north-west on the authority of Matsya Purāṇa which reads *Romaka.* The reading of Alberuni, however, is *mara.* On the other hand, according to Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa's commentary[4] on Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa Romaka or Ruma denotes a 'saltish land'. But the author of Kalpadrukoṣa[5] translates the word as 'salt' only.

A variety of salt called *romaka* was known to *Caraka* and *Suśruta.* According to *Cakrapāṇi*, a commentator of *Caraka*, *romaka* means a salt prepared from the water of Rumā river.[6] *Rumā* is a lake according to Dalhaṇa, a commentator of Suśruta.[7] Ruma may be an earlier name of the Śākambharī lake. *Hemādri*, while commenting on *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, states that *romaka* was produced in the *Śākambharī* territory.[8] The very name *Śākambharī* has some relation with the Śakas.

Some scholars have regarded the Jyotirvidābharaṇa as having been completed in the 13th century A.D.[9] But whatever be the date of this work, the mention of Ruma and its king Śaka has an old tradition behind it,

1 सैन्धवानुर्वसान्बर्बान्कुपथानभीमरोमकान् ।
शुनामुखांश्चोर्दमरून्सिन्धुरेताभिषेवते । Matsya 121. 47 and 48 respectively.
2 IV. 2, 80. and IV. 2, 110. 3 Alberuni's India, Vol. I, Ch. 25, p. 261.
4 रुमा = लवणभूमिः II. 2, 243.
5 स्यान्मिश्रं बहुलवणमथौर्वंसहमैरिणम् ।
वसुपांशु च वसुकं पांशवं रोमकं पुनः ॥१८३॥ p. 153. Gaekwad's Oriental Series ed. 6 III. 8, 141. 7 I. 46, 313. 8 I. 6, 148. 9 *Gaṇaka Taraṅgiṇī*, p. 45 gives the date of the author as 1164.

17. *Viśākhadatta* or Viśākhadeva, a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikrama, wrote a drama called Devī-Chandragupta. In this drama is described the heroic deed of Chandragupta's assassinating a Śaka king. This Śaka king wanted to marry Dhruvadevī, the wife of Chandragupta's elder brother. This historical fact is again alluded to by Bāṇa. The story of Rāwal[1] and Barkarmis as narrated in Majmal-ut-Tawārikh is merely a translation of this drama into Arabic by Abul Hassan Ali (1026 A.D.) But who was this Śakapati bold enough to execute such a plan ? Altekar[2] believes him to be the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II. But this cannot be reconciled with the evidence put forth by Majmal-ut-Tawārikh and Rājaśekhara. Both these authorities place the defeat of the Śaka in the north Punjab, and it is not yet known if Rudrasena II ever ruled in the north of the Punjab.

Viśākhadatta in his *Mudrārākṣasa* alludes to Śaka kings, who are described as brave.[3]

Viśākhadatta, the author of this play *(Devī Chandra-Gupta)*, is very likely the same as the author of *Mudrārākṣasa.*[4]

1 On the word Rāwal Abul Fazl writes:—"The chief of the state was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rānā." Āin-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 268. On the word Rāwal see also Indian Culture Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 13f.

2 Quoted in "A History of the Guptas" by R. N. Dandekar, p. 77.

3 प्रस्थातव्यं पुरस्तात्खसमगधगणैर्मामनु व्यूह्य सैन्यै-
गान्धारैर्मध्ययाने सयवनपतिभिः संविधेयः प्रयत्नः ।
पश्चात्तिष्ठन्तु वीराः शकनरपतयः संभृताश्चीणहूणैः
कौलूताद्यश्च शिष्टः पथि पथि वृणुयाद्राजलोकः कुमारम् ॥ Canto V, verse 11.
अस्ति तावच्छकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिः ....
Canto II, p. 86, Bombay Sanskrit Series Ed. 1889.

4 Classical Sanskrit Literature by Krishnamacharya, p. 604–609.

18. In the *Harṣa-carita* of *Bāṇa* it is stated that Chandragupta disguised as a woman assassinated a Śaka king who desired the wife of another.[1] Commenting on this passage of *Bāṇa*, *Śankarārya* writes that Chandragupta in the disguise of Dhruvadevī killed the Śaka king who coveted his brother's (Rāmagupta's) wife.[2]

19. *Brahmagupta*, an astronomer of *circa* 620 A.D., mentions in his *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* the beginning of the current Śaka era at the death of a Śaka king.[3] This reference has been fully dealt with in Chapter IV.

20. In the *Rāma-carita* of *Abhinanda* (end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century A.D.) it is asked, "after Vikrama, the enemy of the Śaka king, where do poets tell pious tales ?"[4] This enemy of the Śakas is Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Here it is again said that "by the foe of the Śaka, the works of Kālidāsa were brought to fame."

21. *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* is a Buddhist work. According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal it was composed in *circa* the 9th century A.D.[5] It contains an important verse[6] which states that there were in all thirty kings of the Śakas. Of them only eighteen were monarchs of note.

22. *Vardhamāna*, the author of *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* (1140 A.D.), quotes the following verse from some earlier author, while commenting on the word Śaka :

चोलकेरलनाथं तमापतन्तं विलोक्य सः ।
शकं मशकवन्मेने काम्बोजमजवन्नृपः ॥ kārikā 20 ॥

---

1 अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिम् अशातयदिति । Chapter 6, p. 696, Calcutta ed.

2 शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन व्यापादितः । 3 I. 26. 4 Canto XXII. 5 Imperial History of India, Introduction. 6 611 later half, 612 first half.

23. *Kalhaṇa* (1149 A.D.) in his *Rājatrangiṇi* writes about a king named Pratāpāditya of Kashmir, who was related to some Vikramāditya. According to *Kalhaṇa* some writers confused this Vikramāditya with Śakāri-Vikramāditya, but he says that they were mistaken, as Śakāri-Vikramāditya was some one else.[1] Kalhaṇa further writes that there was in *Ujjayini* a Vikramāditya *alias* Harṣa, who in the beginning destroyed the Śakas.[2]

24. In the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (Śaka 1127=1205 A.D.), three *ślokas* of the celebrated poet *Amaruka* are quoted. One of them describes the feats of a king "who took vow to make widows of Śaka women."[3]

Sanskrit anthologies have preserved ślokas of three authors Śakachella, Śakavarman and Śakavṛddhi.[4] They may have been some Śaka authors.

25. *Prabhāvaka-carita* of *Prabhāchandra* (1277 A.D.) contains a Kālakasūri-carita.[5] This is almost identical with the *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka*, which has been so widely used and relied on by Dr. Sten Konow. This *carita* records that the Jain teacher Kālaka went to the Śaka country and brought with him a Ṣāhi (षाहि) or Śāhi (शाहि) king.

There are many versions of this Kālakācārya Kathānaka known amongst the Jainas, but the story about

1 शकारिर्विक्रमादित्य इति स भ्रममाश्रितैः
अन्यैरत्रान्यथालेखि विसंवादि कदर्थितम् ॥ II. 6.

2 (i) तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान्हर्षापराभिधः ।
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥
(ii) म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।
शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यभारो लघूकृतः ॥ III 125, 128.

3 शकवधूवैधव्यदीक्षागुरोः । p. 297, Lahore ed. 4 Subhāśitāvali of Vallabhadeva P. Peterson's ed. 1886, Introduction, p. 125. 5 Carita IV.

the advent of the Śakas in western India is almost the same in all of them.

26. The *Kumārapāla-carita of Jayasiṁhasūri* gives the following information.[1] There was a king Śrī Siṁha Vikrama in the Chālukya family. He possessed the power of turning base metals into gold. He started an era of his own after freeing all (subordinate) rulers of any debt. He had a son Hari Vikrama, the crest of the brave. Even the strong Śaka dynasties did not bear the heat of his glory. In his family was born Rāma. To him was born Sahajarāma who killed the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses[2] .... In his family was born Mūlarāja.

Now this Mūlarāja was ruling in *circa* 950 A.D. Long before him the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses, was killed by Sahajarāma who was born in the family of Siṁha Vikrama and Hari (=Vikrama). This family was certainly the family of Samudragupta and Chandragupta, as they bore the titles of Siṁha-Vikrama etc. But here this family is, by mistake, described as the Chālukya family.

27. A Śakāditya is mentioned in the ***Hara Gaurī Saṁvāda***.[3]

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1 Canto I, verse 21. 2 Rasiklal C. Parikh translates in his Kāvyānuśāsana, (1938, Vol. II, pt. I, Intro. p. XXI) as "Among his descendant there was one Sahajarama who had a cavalry force of three lacs of horses and who defeated the lord of Śakas on the battlefield". Mr. K. M. Munshi following, perhaps, Mr. Parikh has given a similar translation in his "The Glory that was Gurjaradesa", Part III, p. 72, *i.e.* "After him came Sahajarama who was the Lord of three lakhs of horses, who having destroyed the lord of the Sakas". I am afraid the interpretation of both of them is wrong. 3 I. H. Q., Vol. XVIII, p. 251.

CHAPTER III

THE ŚAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS

In the previous chapter I have given detailed references to the Śakas from Indian literature, which I believe to be as good evidence as any other. But since some scholars do not attach any importance to references from literature, unless they are supported by inscriptional or numismatic evidence, and as ancient Indian history can only be compiled from all the three sources, literary, inscriptional and numismatic, I now proceed to set forth the available inscriptional evidence regarding the Śakas and their achievements.

Historians should remember that in India eminent classical writers were also the writers of inscriptions under their patron kings *e.g.* Hariṣena under Samudragupta.

1. *Inscriptions of Nahapāna's Time.* Eight important inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna are known to scholars.[1] These are inscribed on the caves of Nasik, Karle and Junar. The Nasik Cave Inscriptions 11, 13 and 14 (a)[2] mention the matrimonial alliance between Śaka Uṣavadāta and Dakṣamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta. This and other inscriptions of Śaka Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna are a helpful source for a study of the reign of Nahapāna. The dates in these

1 See the appendix. 2 E. I. Vol. VII, pp. 81, 85 and 86.

inscriptions range from the year 41 to 46 of an unspecified era. One of these eight inscriptions is the inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna. It is dated in the year 46 of an unspecified era. As regards this date Sten Konow has recently pointed out that according to the latest reading of the symbol of the date sign by Rapson the figure should be 76 and not 46.[1] In this inscription the title *sāmi* is used with the name Nahapāna.[2]

2. There are certain inscriptions on the *Bheraghat*[3] *Statues* of the daughter of Bhūmaka which, however, are nearly illegible.[4]

3. *The Kārle Cave Inscription of Mitradevaṇaka.*[5] In this inscription is recorded the gift of a pillar. Mitradevaṇaka calls himself the son of Uṣavadāta, who was the son-in-law of Nahapāna. Senart is of opinion that Mitradevaṇaka is an Indian name. So he may have been the son of Uṣavadāta by his Indian wife Dakṣamitrā.

4. *The Nasik Cave Inscription No 15* tells about the Śakāni lay devotee Viṣnudatā, the daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka.[6] It shows that the Śakas in India unlike the Romans in England used to perform certain religious ceremonies indigenous to their adopted country. Here we have reference to a Śaka lay devotee, who seems to have been a resident of some monastery on mount Triraśmī in Nasik. This inscription is dated in the 9th year of king Iśvarasena, the Ābhīra.

5. *The Inscription*[7] *of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Pulumāyi* in his 19th regnal year, describes the defeat of the Śakas

1 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, pp. 40, 41. 2 E. I. Vol. VII, p. 56. 3 Near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. 4 Quoted in Indian History Congress Proceedings, Lahore Session, 1940, p.150. 5 E. I. Vol. VII, Kārle Cave Inscriptions, No. 11, p. 56. 6 E. I. Vol. VIII, pp. 88, 89. 7 Ibid, Nasik Cave Inscriptions, No. 2, p. 60 f.

along with the Yavanas and Pahlavas by his deceased father Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa. It also states that Gotamīputa exterminated the Kṣaharāta dynasty. This inscription is very important as it independently records the above facts. However, Sten Konow regards the fact of the destruction of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas as a mere boast.[1]

6. There are *two inscriptions in one of the Nasik Caves* which refer to the gift of two cisterns and a cave by a Śaka w r i t e r named Dāmachika Vudhika, son of Viṣṇudatta of Daśapura.[2]

7. Raychaudhuri, however, thinks that "the earliest Śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are perhaps Dāmijada and Maues."[3] This statement requires further investigation.

8. *The Mathura Lion-Capital Inscription*[4] contains the line—*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.* There has been a great deal of controversy over the interpretation of this line. Dr. Raychaudhuri has summed up the whole as follows[5] :—

"Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakasthāna." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiawāḍ and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took '*Sarva*' to be a proper name and translated the

1 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 42. 2 E. I. Vol. VIII, Nasik Cave Inscriptions, Nos. 26 and 27, pp. 95 and 96. 3 P. H. A. I. 4th ed., p. 364. 4 E. I. Vol. IX, p. 135 f; Dr. Harit Krishna Deb has recently published a thought-provoking article on this inscription in J. R. A. S. Bengal, Letters, Vol. X, 1944, p. 13 f. He, however, gives the reading Śakrasthāna. 5 P. H. A. I., 4th ed., p. 361.

inscriptional passage as "a gift of '*Sarva*' in honour of his home."[1]

'Fleet's objection is not convincing. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Śakas in Kipin *i. e.* Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa refers to a Śaka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Śakas' since we find in the Wardak, SuiVihār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, *e. g.*, *Sarva sattvanam*, 'of all living creatures'. As regards Fleet's rendering "svaka and śakaṭṭhāna" as one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A pūjā addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion-Capital contains a similar pūjā addressed to the chief representatives of the Śaka dominions.'It is, therefore, clear that '*Sarvasa sakastanasa*' means the realm of all the Sakas and nothing else.

The Mathura Lion-Capital inscription contains the names of Mahākṣatrapa Rājula, Mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika, Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa and Kṣatrapa Kharadaka. These names along with the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa indicate the expansion of the Śakas as far as Mathura.

9. ***Mathura (Kaṅkālī Tīlā)***[2] ***Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa.*** The title Mahākṣatrapa with the name of Śoḍāsa is an indication of Śaka lineage. This inscription is dated *saṁvatsara* 70+2 or 40+2. According to the alphabet of the Western Kṣatrapa coins the first figure may be read as 40, but according to Kuśāna

1 J. R. A. S. 1904, pp. 703 f; 1905, pp. 155, 643 f. 2 E. I. Vol. II, p. 199.

inscriptions it is certainly 70. The reading 70 may be regarded as correct.[1]

10. *Mathura Stone Inscription*[2] *of the time of Śoḍāsa* mentions this king as Svāmi Mahākṣatrapa. Both these Mathura Brāhmī inscriptions use the word Svāmi with Śoḍāsa. He was, therefore, no doubt a Śaka.

11. Another *Inscription from Kaṅkālī Tīlā* also mentions the word Śaka, though the reading is ambiguous.[3]

12. *Giridharapur Jītlā Inscription.* This inscription is in a fragmentary state. Luders, however, draws the conclusion "that the donatrix was of Śaka descent."[4] This inscription is dated in the year 270 of the era of some *Mahārāja.* The name of the *Mahārāja* is lost. It may be noted that another inscription[5] from Kaṅkālī Tīlā at Mathura is also dated in the era of some *Mahārāja rājātirāja.* The name in this inscription is also lost.

13. *Taxila Copper-plate Inscription of Patika* records the date *saṁvatsara* 78. This inscription contains a word *Kṣahara,* which according to some scholars is nothing else but Kṣaharāta.[6] Some scholars have surmised that this Patika is the same as that mentioned in the Mathura Lion-Capital inscription.

14. *Mathura (Second Gaṇeshrā Mound) Inscription of Kṣaharāta Ghaṭaka.* Dr. Vogel draws the attention of scholars to this fragmentary inscription.[7] In the following two lines which have reached us the words Kṣaharāta and Ghaṭaka are quite legible:—

1 *Cf.* Sten Konow, E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 27. 2 E. I. Vol. IX, p. 247. 3 E. I. Vol. XXIV, p. 203. 4 Ācārya Puṣpāñjali Vol. (in honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar) p. 287, 1940 ed. 5 Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXVII, p. 33 ff. 6 E. I. Vol. IV, p. 55 f. 7 J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 121.

(i) ·········स क्षहरातस घटाकस·········

(ii) ·········ये क्षुप पति···············

The presence of the Kṣaharātas in Mathura is evident.

15. *Mathura Mora Well Inscription*[1] of the time of the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rajubula. Though the name of the son is illegible, his designation Svāmi is clear.

16. *Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Caṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman.* These inscriptions are four in number and all bear the date *varṣe* 52. These mention Ysamotika, as the father of Caṣṭaṇa.[2]

17. *Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I.* This is a very famous and important inscription and was written in *varṣe* 72. This is the first Śaka inscription which was written in Sanskrit of the Kāvya style. It gives the history of the dam named Sudarśana. It also records the exploits of the great Rudradāman.[3]

18. *Gundā (North Kathiawar) Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.* This inscription gives the date *varṣe* 103. The language is Prākrit and the inscription was set up by an Ābhīra general, Rudrabhūtī by name.[4] An inscription entered in *para* 25 may be read along with this inscription. Both the inscriptions may be of one and the same year. An Ābhīra is mentioned in each.

19. *Kaṇherī Lane Inscription.* This inscription mentions that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi had a wife who was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru (dradāman) of the family of Karddamaka kings.[5]

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1 E. I. Vol. XXIV, p. 194 f. 2 E. I. Vol. XVI, pp. 19–25. 3 E. I. Vol. VIII, p. 42 f. 4 E. I. Vol. XVI, p. 233–236. 5 Luders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 994.

20. *Junāgarh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson.* The inscription is mutilated. The name of the king and the date of its writing are both lost. However, the names Caṣṭana, Jayadāman and Girinagara are legible. The inscription may be of Dāmaysada or Rudrasiṁha I.[1]

21. *Junāgarh Inscription of Jīvadāmā.* Only two lines have survived and even these are broken in places. The date is 100+...[2]

22. *Mulvāsara (Gaekwar) Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena.* The date is *varṣe* 232 or 122. It records that the son of Vaṇījaka sacrificed his life for a friend.[3] The year 122 appears to be the correct reading.[4]

23. *Gaḍhā or Jasdan Lake (North Kathiawar) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I.* This inscription is dated *varṣe* 127 or 126. Rudrasena is entitled Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi.[5]

The genealogical table in this inscription is the longest that has so far come to light. It is as follows :—

(1) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Caṣṭaṇa.

(2) Rājā Kṣatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman.

(3) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bha (dramukha) Svāmi Rudradāman.

(4) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Rudrasiṁha.

(5) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena.

24. *Kānākherā (near Sānchi) Stone Inscription of*

1 E. I. Vol. XVI, p. 241. 2 E. I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 339-40. 3 Pkt. and Skt. Ins. of Kathyawar. p. 23. 4 Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State by A. S. Gadre, 1943, pp. 2, 3. 5 E. I. Vol. XVI, p. 238.

Śrīdharavarman. This inscription was discovered by Sir John Marshall. N. G. Majumdar read the date as 241. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that "the reading of the date is doubtful," and reads the date as 201. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Śrīdharavarman was "originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later assumed independence."[1]

25. *Mevasā (Cutch) Stone Inscription of the time of a Mahākṣatrapa.* D. B. Diskalkar discovered this inscription and published it in the Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.[2] He interprets the date as 300, but it may be interpreted as 103 also. If the interpretation of Diskalkar is accepted, then this inscription should be associated with the great-grandson of Bhartṛdāman, who ruled up to *circa* 215 A.D. But from the materials known so far, it is certain that the line of Caṣṭaṇa ended with the son of Bhartṛdāman. So the existence of his great-grandson is unintelligible at this stage of our knowledge. Now if the other interpretation 103 be proved correct then the Bhartṛdāman of this inscription will be a brother of Rudradāman I. It describes a gift of Ābhīra Vasuraka. The meaning of the inscription as a whole is not clear. As already pointed out this inscription should be read along with the Gundā inscription (vide para no. 18).

26. *Junār Cave Inscription No. 13.* This inscription mentions a Śaka, Aḍuthama.[3]

27. *Amrāvatī Inscription.* A Śaka-giri is mentioned in this inscription.[4] Chandā reads the word

1 S. I., Sircar, p. 181. 2 Vol. I, p. 565. 3 Quoted in Bhāratīya Itihāsa kī Rūpa-rekhā by Jai Chandra Vidyālankār, Vol. II, p. 951. 4 E. I. Vol. XV, Some Unpublished Amrāvatī Inscriptions, No. 55, p. 274.

as (Ś)akagiri, and F. W. Thomas as Pi(Si?)giri. But Saka-giri as suggested by K. Gopalachari seems to be the correct reading.[1]

28. *Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa Epigraph*[2]. A Śaka Moda and his sister Budhi are mentioned. This shows that individual Śakas had entered the Deccan at an early date. This is further proved by the fact that "among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress."[3]

29. *Candrāvalli Stone Inscription of Mayūraśarman.* This place is in Mysore. It is stated in this inscription that this king defeated the Ābhīras, the Pallavas and the Śakasthānas etc[4]. These Śakasthānas appear to be those who inhabited the Kathiawar territory.

30. *Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta*[5] states that the *Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi Śaka-Muruṇḍas* and many others bowed before Samudragupta. It should be noted that in this purely Sanskrit inscription the word *ṣāhi* (षाहि) is spelt with *ṣa* (ष).

31. *Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla* (*circa* 1050 A. D. or even earlier) gives the account that "he (Ratnapāla) was a strong cage for the sporting Śaka bird"[6] *i.e.* he was powerful enough to be dreaded by the Śakas. On the other hand H.C. Ray very strangely translates it as "with a fence strong like that used for the game birds of the Śakas."[7]

32. *Six Saindhava Copper plate grants from Ghumli.*[8] The writer of the grant no. A of the time of

1 Early History of the Andhra Country, 1941, p.96. 2 E.I. Vol. XX,p.37. 3 Early History of the Andhra Country, p. 96. 4 Mysore Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1929, p. 50. 5 Select Inscriptions by D. C. Sircar, p. 258. 6 शकक्रीडाशकुनिदृढपञ्जरेण । 7 Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 250. 8 E. I. Vol. XXVI, pp. 188-203.

Agguka II and no. B of the time of Jaika is some Śaka named Kapila, son of Vikkaṭṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas. The inscriptions are dated in the year 513 of an unknown saṁvat. It might possibly be the Valabhī era. This shows that some Śakas retained their individuality long after the Śaka rule had ended.

33. *Shahdaur Inscription.* This Kharoshṭhi inscription according to the reading of Sten Konow records a name Namijada and *Śaka sabatsar.*[1] The name, if read correctly, has some similarity with the Śaka name Damajada.

In the end it may be pointed out that though not directly connected with inscriptional information, some archaeological remains show the presence of Scythian or Śaka power near Indore also. Sardar M. V. Kibe writes, "about six miles to the south of Indore, on a plateau, there are the remains of a Scythian camp near Nagpur."[2]

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1 E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 199. 2 "Blanks in Middle Indian History", article by Sardar M. V. Kibe, published in Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 62, 1936 ed.

CHAPTER IV

THE ŚAKA ERA

Coins and inscriptions of the Śaka rulers of western India show that the Śaka kings used an era of their own. Almost all scholars are of opinion that the well known Śaka-Śālivāhana era, which is even now in vogue in southern India, is that same era. It will, however, be seen later on that such is not the case and in reality there was an earlier Śaka era, which was used by the Śaka kings and the Śaka-Śālivāhana era started at the end of Śaka rule.

DIFFERENT NAMES OF THE ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era has been used in inscriptions and literature under the following different names :—

1. The era of the coronation of a Śaka king :—

   प्रवर्धमानराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वति-क्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु ।[1]

2. The era of a Śaka king :—

   (i) शकनृपसंवत्सरेषु शरशिखिमुनिषु व्यतीतेषु ।[2]

   (ii) शकनृपतिसंवत्सरशतेषु चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकेषु पञ्चस्वतीतेषु ।[3]

3. Śaka-Saṁvat or the Śaka era :—

   (i) शकसंवत् ८३२ वैशाखशुक्लपौर्णमास्यां महावैशाख्यां ।[4]

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1 E. I. Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 2, No. 3. 2 I. A. Vol. XII, p. 16. 3 I.A. Vol. VI, p. 73. 4 E. I. Vol. I, p. 56.

(*ii*) एकादशोत्तरषट्छतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु ।[1]

(*iii*) शककालसंवत्सर ।[2]

(*iv*) शकाब्द ९६७ ।[3]

(*v*) शकसमये ८६७ ।[4]

4. Śaka or Śāka :—

(*i*) शक ११५७ मन्मथसंवत्सरे ।[5]

(*ii*) शाके नव स [श] तैर्युक्ते द्विसप्तत्यधिके (९७२)[6]

The word Śāka requires elucidation. Abul Fazl informs us that the word Sākā was used for the era of Vikramāditya also. He says :—

"After the invasion of Sālvāhana, the era of Bikramājīt was changed from *Sākā* to *Sanpat.*"[7]

It is possible that the observation of Abul Fazl might be correct. The following lines[8] from an inscription show the use of both the words Sakā and Saṁvat for the same era :—

सका सहस्रैक सते प्रया[ते षड्डत्त] रे त्रिंसत्ति याति काले
............संवत् ११२६ फाल्गुन शुदि २ सु [शु]क्रे

Again, one Kālidāsa, the author of Jyotirvidābharaṇa, uses the word Śāka with the Vikrama era in the following verse[9] :—

त्रिखेन्दुभिर् १०३ विक्रमभूपतेर्मिते शाके......

In the *Akalaṅka-carita* (15th or 16th century A.D.) we read the following :—

विक्रमार्कशकाब्दीयशतसप्तप्रमाजुषि ।[10]

There is a fourth very clear case which confirms this

1 I.A. Vol. VI, p. 86. 2 E.I. Vol. XX, Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India by D.R. Bhandarkar, No. 1082. 3 Ibid, No. 1091. 4 E.I. Vol. IX, p. 53. 5 E.I. Vol. VII, Appendix, Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 63, No. 348. 6 E.I. Vol. XX, Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India by D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 147, No. 1092. 7 Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 16, Calcutta ed., 1891. 8 Inscriptions of Northern India by D. R. Bhandarkar, No. 145. 9 IV. 53. 10 Quoted in Akalaṅka-Grantha-trayam, intro., p. 13.

statement. *Ananta* wrote a work *Kātyāyana-smārta-mantrārtha-dīpikā*. A manuscript of this work was copied in *saṁvat* 1721. It is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It ends with the colophon :—

शाके [वसु] वसुषट्कप्रथमाङ्कपरामिते १६८८ ।
ग्रन्थोऽयं निर्म्मितः काश्यामनन्ताचार्यधीमता ॥[1]

Now, this is not a Śaka date, for, if it were, it will correspond with Vikrama year 1823. This date is one hundred and two years later than the date of this copy of the work. This riddle finds its solution in another work *of the same author. Ananta writes at the end of his Kāṇva-Yaju-bhāṣya* :—

त्रिपर्वतरसैकश्च मिते विक्रमे शके ।
एषोऽधिकाश्यनन्तेन प्रणीतो ग्रन्थमुत्तमः ॥[2]

This shows that by the word Śāka he meant the Vikrama era. These cases lend double proof to Abul Fazl's statement. They necessitate a review of the Śaka dates in the inscriptions considered irregular so far.

The form Śāka is common with astronomical and Jain writers also. For example :—

(i) Lalla gives in the Uttarādhikāra of Grahagaṇita a date with the word Śāka :—

''शाके नखाब्धि ४२० रहिते ।

(ii) Brahmagupta writes in his Khaṇḍakhādyaka (587 Śāka) :—

शाकोऽगवसुशरोनोऽर्कगुणश्चैत्रादिमाससंयुक्तः ।
त्रिंशद्गुणस्तिथियुतः पृथगिषुसहितो द्विधा भक्तः ॥[3]

(iii) Śatānanda (*circa* 812 Śāka), the author of Bhāsvatī, gives the date of his composition in Śāka :—

1 History of Vedic Literature (in Hindi) by Pt. Bhagavad Datta B. A., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 129. 2 Queen's College Library, Collection No. 3 and Satchel 78. 3 I. 3.

तां भास्वतीं शिष्यहितार्थमाह शाके विहीने शशिपक्षखैकैः ॥[1]

(iv) Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on Bṛhajjātaka, gives the date of completing the work as 888 Śāka :—

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥[2]

(v) The date of Nyāyakandalī by Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, as quoted at the end of the work is Śākābda 913 :—

त्र्यधिकदशोत्तरनवशतशाकाब्दे ९१३ न्यायकन्दली रचिता ।
श्रीपाण्डुदासयाचितभट्टश्रीश्रीधरेणेयम् ॥[3]

(vi) Śrīpati (921 Śāka) also uses the word :—

युगाब्ध्यब्ध्यूनिते ४४४ शाके षष्टिभक्तेऽयनांशकाः ।[4]

(vii) Vādirāja Sūri, a Jain author, in his Pārśvanātha-carita writes :—

शाकाब्दे नगवार्धिरन्ध्रगणने संवत्सरे क्रोधने
मासे कार्तिकनाम्नि बुद्धमहिते शुद्धे तृतीया दिने ।[5]

Besides these forms there is another way of naming this era. It is expressed as :—

5. *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara* or the era which marks the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings.

शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्वेकोनचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु
वैशाखशुद्धपंचदश्याम्महावैशाखीपर्व्वणि (739 Śaka)[6]

This fifth way of naming the era is used in a majority of copper plates and inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Western Chālukyas.

6. *Śālivāhana Śaka :—*

According to R. B. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand

1 I. 1, Benares ed. 2 Bṛhajjātaka, p. 278. 3 Quoted in Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī, p. 25, Benares ed. 4 Siddhānta Śekhara, p. 12, introduction, Cal. ed. 5 Quoted in 'Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, p. 300. 6 Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State by A. S. Gadre, Vol. I, p. 32.

See also, शकनृपकालातीत संवत्सरशतेषु त्री (त्रि)षु दशोत्तरेषु, in E. I. Vol. VII, Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 2, No. 1.

Ojha[1] and many other historians the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era in Śaka 1276. But the association of the name Śālivāhana with this era goes back 295 years *i.e.* to 981 Śaka.[2] This establishes the fact that the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era much earlier. Ś Munīśvara states in his Siddhānta-Sārva-Bhauma[3] that the king Śālivāhana of the Śaka era was the writer of the Prākrit work Saptaśati.

In the Somalapuram grant of Virūpākṣa of Śaka 1389 this era is described as :—

7. *Śālivāhana-nirṇīta-Śaka-varṣa-kramāgate,*[4] *i.e.* in the course of the Śaka years determined by Śālivāhana. This expression indicates that according to the writer of this plate, Śālivāhana was regarded as one who simply decided something in connection with this era. What that thing was, we do not yet know.

8. *Śakendra-kāla :—*

Another form of naming Śaka era is Śakendra-kāla. Its first use is found in the following verses of Pañcasiddhāntikā and Bṛhatsaṁhitā by Varāhamihira :—

(*i*) द्व्यूनं शकेन्द्रकालं पञ्चभिरुद्धृत्य शेषवर्षाणाम् ।
द्युगणं माघसिताद्यं कुर्याद् द्युगणं तद्हन्युदयात् ॥[5]

(*ii*) गतानि वर्षाणि शकेन्द्रकालाद्धतानि रुद्रैर्गुणयेच्चतुर्भिः ।
नवाष्टपञ्चाष्ट ८५८९ युतानि कृत्वा विभाजयेच्छून्यशरागरामैः ॥[6]

Vaṭeśvara, an astronomer, follows Varāhamihira

1 Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipi Mālā, p. 172.

2 एकादसशतवर्षाङ्क तदधिकं षोडशं च विक्रमेंद्रेशं ।
संवत् १११६ नवसत एकासीति सकगत शालिवाहन च नृपधीस साके.९८१ ॥
Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 134.

3 Siddhānta-Sārva-Bhauma, pt. I, p. 23, Benares ed. 4 E. I. Vol. XVII, p. 199.

5 Pañcasiddhāntikā, ed. by G. Thibaut and M. Sudhakara Dvivedi, p. 31, sl. 2, Moti Lal Benarsi Das (Lahore) ed. 6 Bṛhatsaṁhitā, VIII. 20.

and uses this form in expressing his own date in the following verse :—

शकेन्द्रकालाद् भुजशून्यकुंजैरभूदतीतैर्मम जन्महायनैः ७०२ ।
अकारि राद्धान्त सितैस्स्वजन्मनो मया जिनाब्दैर्ध्रुसदामनुग्रहात् २४ ।[1]

Of the above names of the Śaka era, how many denote the older Śaka era, is yet to be ascertained.

PROF. RAPSON'S VIEW ABOUT THE CURRENT ŚAKA ERA

On the general assumption that the Śaka kings used this Śaka era in their inscriptions, Prof. E. J. Rapson, while discussing the origin of the name of this era, writes[2] :—

"The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions, of its (Śaka) princes are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A.D. They range from the year 41 to the year 310 (119-388 A.D.) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on the monuments of ancient India. It was in consequence of its long use by the Caka princes of Western India that the era became generally known in India as the Caka era."

Prof. Rapson has expressed the following two important views in the above passage, *viz* :—

(a) The current Śaka era started with Kaniṣka's reign.

(b) The current Śaka era was so named because it was used for a very long time by the Śaka princes of Western India.

RAPSON'S VIEW CONTRADICTED

Both these views are contradicted by the following statements of earlier authors :—

1 Acc. No. 3784, Catalogue of the Panjab University Sanskrit Mss.

2 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I,p. [illegible]

1. Alberuni (1030 A.D.) writes in his Indika :—

"*THE ŚAKA KĀLA.*"

"The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryavarta, in the midst of this realm, his dwelling-place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. Some maintain that he was a Śūdra from the city of Almanṣūra; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multān and the castle of Lonī. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name, so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya (v. p. 5) and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his."[1]

Alberuni communicates to us the views of the Indian writers of the 11th century and of even earlier dates that the present Śaka era was started after the extermination of a Śaka tyrant.

2. Āmarāja (*circa* 1180 A. D.) the commentator of Khaṇḍa-khādyaka states that the Saka era began when

1 Alberuni's India, English edition by Sachau, 1910, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX.

Śaka kings were killed by Vikramāditya[1]. This fact in the same words is mentioned by Pṛthūdakasvāmin (*circa* 864 A. D.) in his commentary on the same verse[2].

3. Bhāskara, a famous astronomer, who preceded Utpala, and therefore Alberuni, writes in the Grahagaṇita chapter of his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi :—

नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः ॥[3]

i. e. 3179 years of the Kaliyuga were at an end at the death of a Śaka king.

4. Śrīpati, the author of Siddhānta Śekhara also says that 3179 years of Kaliyuga had passed by the end of the Śaka period, in the following verse :—

याताः कलेर्नवनगेन्दुगुणाः ३१७९ शकान्ते ।[4]

But the case of Makkibhaṭṭa (1377 A. D.),[5] the commentator of Siddhānta Śekhara, is very strange. Not knowing the existence of two Śaka eras, he wrongly interprets the word *Śakānte* as 'before the beginning of the Śaka era.'[6]

5. तर्काम्बराङ्कप्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः ।
वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधां लक्षणावलीम् ॥[7]

This verse is found at the end of Lakṣaṇāvalī, a work on logic by Udayana (906 Śaka.) The author says

1 शका नाम म्लेच्छा राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापादिताः स शकसम्बन्धी कालः शाक इत्युच्यते । Khaṇḍakhādyaka with Vāsanā-Bhāṣya by Āmarāja, p. 2, Cal. ed., 1925.

2 शका नाम म्लेच्छा राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापादिता स कालोऽस्यर्थं प्रसिद्धः । Khaṇḍakhādyaka, ed. by P. C. Sengupta, p. 3, Cal. ed., 1941.

3 Kālamānādhyāya, I. 28. 4 I. 25. 5 P. K. Gode's article in Journal of Indian History (Madras), Vol. XVI, pp. 259-262.

6 शकान्ते शकावधौ काले शकवर्षप्रारम्भात् पूर्वं कलेः । Siddhānta Śekhara by Śrīpati, p. 16, commentary on sl. 25, Calcutta ed., 1932.

7 Another reading of this verse has been suggested in Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal, Vol. II

that he completed the work when 906 years from the expiry of the Śakas had elapsed. His dating from the expiry of the Śakas shows that an era which began at the end of the Śakas was also in vogue in India. This reference is particularly important as Udayana was a logician and not an astronomer.

6. Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on verse VIII. 20 of Bṛhatsaṁhitā by Varāhamihira, states the same fact :—

शका नाम म्लेच्छजातयो राजानस्ते यस्मिन्काले विक्रमादित्यदेवेन व्यापादिताः स कालो लोके शक इति प्रसिद्धः ।[1]

7. Vaṭeśvara (702 Saka) also says that 3179 years of Kaliyuga had passed at the conclusion of the Śakas :—

कलेर्नवागैकगुणाः शकावधेः ।[2]

8. Brahma Gupta (550 Śaka=628 A. D.)[3] writes in his Brahma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta that at the end of the Śakas 3179 years of the Kaliyuga had passed.[4] In the verse that follows, he again states that at the end of the Saka[5] king and from the beginning of the Kalpa so many years had passed.

9. Another Sanskrit work, *Hara Gauri Saṁvāda,* repeats the same view. This work comes from Assam and is of an unknown date. It may, however, be a resume of an ancient tradition. It records that "in the Kali year 3179 (=78 A. D.) there was a king Subāhu, who was a bosom friend of Śakāditya. Vikrama after killing his elder brother and this Śaka incurred the enmity of Subāhu."[6] There are some controversial items

1 p. 193, Benares ed. 2 Acc. No. 3784, sl. 10, Catalogue of the Panjab University Library Sanskrit Manuscripts.

3 शकनृपाणां पञ्चाशत् संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पञ्चभिरतीतैः ।

4 त्रीणि कृतादीनि कलेर्गोऽगैकगुणाः शकान्तेऽब्दाः । I. 26.

5 शकनृपान्ते । I.27. 6 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, 1942, p. 251.

in the account that follows. The manuscript being quite unsatisfactory, as admitted by its editor, I have made no further use of it here. One fact is, however, quite clear, that in Kali year 3179 or 78 A. D. a Śaka was killed. Thus according to this authority also the current Śaka era started with the death of a Śaka king.

The tradition of Vikrama's killing his brother and a Śakāditya is recorded in a mutilated form, by Captain Wilford, in the following lines[1] :—

"It is the general opinion, that Vicramāditya put his brother Sucāditya, or Bhartrīhari, to a most slow and cruel death, by severing his head, with a knife, both small and bad. His putting him to death is mentioned[2] by Holwell, and Mr. Wilkins."

The above information given from the *Vaṁśāvalis* by Captain Wilford and the incident recorded in the *Hara Gaurī Saṁvāda* are an echo of the story of Chandra Gupta Vikrama as found in *Majmal-ut-Tawārikh* and *Devī Chandra Gupta.* Wilford's mention of a knife tallies with the Persian account.

All the above authors are of opinion that the current Śaka era began with the death of a Śaka king or at the end of the Śakas. This tradition which was current even in 628 A. D. was not a creation of a single day. This view finds further support in another way.

MEANING OF ŚAKA-NṚPA-KĀLĀTĪTA-SAṀVATSARA.

It has been noted above under no. 5 that one of the names of the Śaka era was, Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara, or the era at the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings. Some scholars have translated

1 A. R., Vol. IX, p. 152. 2 A. R., Vol. I, p. 129.

this phrase as "the expired year of the time of the Śaka kings." But there are many clear cases, where this interpretation can not hold good.

1. The following inscription[1] of 743 *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* year uses the words *atīta* and again *atīteṣu*:—

शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-शतेषु सप्तसु त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु तीतेषु वैशाख-पौर्णमास्यां ।

2. *Somadeva Sūri*, a Jain author, writing his *Yaśas-Tilaka-Campu* in Śaka 881, writes in the colophon of this work :—

शकनृपकालातीत-संवत्सर शतेष्वष्टस्वेकाशीत्यधिकेषु गतेषु ।

i.e. in the year 881 expired of the *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* era.

3. Again in an inscription[2] of Śaka 930 the date is expressed as :—

शकनृपकालातीत-संवत्सर-शतेषु नवषु त्रिंशदधिकेषु गतेषु ९३० प्रवर्त्तमान सौम्यसंवत्सरे......

In numbers 1, 2 and 3, if the first *atīta* means the expired year, as scholars would like to have it, the following *atīteṣu* or *gateṣu* will be quite redundant. Therefore, the word *atīta* should be joined with *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla* and not *Saṁvatsara*. It will mean *Śaka-nṛpa-kālamatītya* *i.e.* at the expiry of the time of the Śaka kings. The correctness of this interpretation of the above term is supported by *Pāṇini* also. According to him the word *atīta* here forms a compound with *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla* as under the sutra II. 1, 24 the words *kāntāram* and *atīta* form the compound *kāntārātīta*.[3] This indicates that the name of the era had the same significance behind it as expressed above by so many authors.

1 E. I. Vol. XXI, p. 144. 2 E. I. Vol. VII, Appendix, No. 150, p. 27.
3 See also Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, III. 2, 34.

This idea is further supported by as late a work as *Mitākṣarā* (*circa* 1100 A.D.), a commentary on the law code of *Yājñavalkya*. *Yājñavalkya* writes that all grants of a king should have the time specified in them. On the word time or *kāla*, the *Mitākṣarā* explains[1] that it should be done in the following two ways, *i.e.* in the form of *Śaka-nṛpa-atīta* and of *Saṁvatsara* (60 years Jovian cycle). Prof. D. C. Sircar translates this passage as "the expired year of the Śaka kings and the (regnal) year."[2] This translation is not warranted by the words of *Mitākṣarā*. The words can only convey the meaning 'at the expiry of the Śaka king or kings'. Dr. Sircar seems to have translated it according to the general impression.

There are cases, on the other hand, where the Vikrama era is also expressed in similar words and so these support the meaning of this term as expressed above. For example :—

१. श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपकालातीत[3] ११६१
२. श्रीमद्विक्रमकालातीतचतुर्दशाधिकद्वादशशतान्तपाती संवत्सरे कार्तिके सुदि १२१४
३. श्री विक्रम-कालातीत्[4] १२३५
४. श्रीमद्विक्रमनृप-कालातीतसंवत्सर-शतेषु द्वादशसु-षट्षष्ट्यधिकेषु[5]
५. प्रसिद्ध नृपति श्रीविक्रमातिक्रमात् संवद् विष्णुपद-द्वये (षु) जगति संख्ये[6]
६. श्रीमन्नृप विक्रमार्कराज्यसमयातीत संवत्[7] १६

These dates, especially the fifth one, indicate that the Vikrama era was believed by many people to have begun with the demise of Vikramāditya. Many Jain works, from the 10th century onwards have preserved this view point.[8]

1 I. 320. 2 Proc. Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, p. 53. 3 E.I. Vol. XIX, Appendix, No. 169. 4 E. I. Vol. XX, No. 383. 5 E. I. Vol. XX, No. 455. 6 Inscriptions of Kathiawad, New Indian Antiquary, June 1940, p. 112. 7 Quoted in Bhāratīya-Prācīna-Lipi-Mālā, p. 170. 8 Prof. Hira Lal has collected these references, in his article on the 'Date of Mahavīra Nirvāṇa, Journal of the University of Nagpur, Dec. 1940, pp. 52-53.

This fact was known in India in 1809 A.D. Captain Wilford writes, "............the Jains reckon from the death of Vicramaditya........"[1]

Only in no. 1 a solitary example has been met with so far, where it is stated that perhaps the Śaka-Śālivāhana era was reckoned from the coronation of a Śaka king.[2] It appears that the writer of this inscription of Śaka year 500 has confused the tradition of an earlier Śaka era to be mentioned hereafter, and has used the phrase, the era of the coronation of a Śaka king, with the year of the current Śaka era.

In the light of what is written above, it will be seen that a number of ancient authorities agree that the current Śaka era started with the extermination of the Sakas, and not with the advent of the Śakas in Western India. Therefore, the assumption of Prof. E. J. Rapson that the era started with the reign of Kaniṣka cannot be accepted. Moreover, Kaniṣka was decidedly a Tuṣāra, and the Tuṣāras and Śakas have been distinguished one from the other by Indian writers from the earliest times.

FURTHER EVIDENCE AGAINST RAPSON'S VIEW

There is another very conspicuous fact which goes against Prof. Rapson's theory. All the inscriptions of the Śakas or the Western Kṣatrapas use the word *varṣe* for era, while the inscriptions, copper plates, scrolls etc. of Kaniṣka and his successors have the word *saṁvatsara* used for era. This clear distinction shows at once that the eras used by the rulers of these two dynasties are totally different. This distinction cannot be regarded as provincial only.

1 Asiatic Researches Vol. IX, 1809, p. 157. 2 See above p. 35.

The opinion of Dr. M. Winternitz likewise goes against Prof. Rapson's theory. He writes, "The view, still maintained by a few scholars, that Kaniṣka is the founder of the Śaka era, which began in 78 A.D., is less likely to be correct."[1]

Sten Konow also contradicts the theory of Prof. Rapson, though in another way. He writes, "Wim Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor."[2]

THE ŚAKA ERA AND THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYA KATHĀNAKA

A clearer idea of the Śakas and the Śaka era, is available from certain Jain works which relate the advent of the Śakas in western India.[3] Dr. Sten Konow has laid great stress on the Kālakācārya Kathānaka, and he accepts the defeat of a Śaka ruler of Ujjain at the hands of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., as also the advent of the Śakas in Ujjain a little before 57 B.C.

Dr. Sten Konow is right in accepting the existence of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., but he has not been able to reconcile the different statements of Jain authors as regards the date of Vīra-Nirvāṇa, nor the Vīra year which is connected with the Śaka or the Śakas.

The Jain tradition recorded in Tiloya Paṇṇatti[4] (*circa* the 5th century A. D.) gives as many as four dates of the appearance of a Śaka king in Vīra-Nirvāṇa era:—

1. 461 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.

1 Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 611. 2 C.I.I., Vol. II, pt. I, p. LXVIII.
3 On the advent of the Śakas in India see Mahābhāṣya VI. 1, 91 and VI. 1, 108 and Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa I. 4, 100. 4 Gāthās, 86-89.

2. 9785 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
3. 14793 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
4. 605 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.

The dates indicated in numbers 2 and 3 above are beyond our comprehension. The other two may be considered here. Between the years 461 and 605 there is a difference of 144 years. Indian tradition records the killing of two Śakas near about 57 B.C. and in 78 A.D. It appears, therefore, that later Jain authors changed the figure 461 into 470, thus reducing the difference to 135 years only, which is precisely the difference between the time of the start of the Vikrama era and the start of the current Śaka era. These later authors have, however, thrown no light on the cause of this adjustment.

But how is one to make use of the truth contained in the different Jain works? Dr. Sten Konow hits upon the truth when he connects the advent of the Śakas with Kālakācārya. Unfortunately, the confusion of Jain chronology has created two Kālakācāryas instead of one. But whatever may be the case the following pedigree of Jain teachers is borne out by all Jain writers.

1. Śrī Kālakācārya, who brought the Śaka ruler to take vengeance on the Gardabhilla ruler.
2. Ārya Nāga Hasti.
3. Pāda Liptaka.
4. Skandilācārya.
5. Mukunda Vṛddhavādi.
6. Siddhasena Divākara, a contemporary of Sāhasāṅka Vikrama.

Now, according to Jain tradition this Siddhasena Diṿākara was a contemporary of the Vikrama who started the Vikrama era. Norman Brown has stated in the Yuga pradhāna-Svarupa that Kālaka I died in Vīra era 376 or 171 B.C.[1] Considering this statement as well as the previous pedigree constructed above, it is probably not far beyond the truth to suppose that Kālaka lived in *circa* 200-150 B.C. In the present confused state of Jain chronology, it is safe to go so far only.

TWO ŚAKA ERAS

It is now beyond doubt that there were in reality two Śaka eras. One was the era of 77-78 A.D. which was named the Śaka era some time after the era had come into use, and which started at the extermination of Śaka kings in India; the other was a still earlier and an actual Śaka era, which may have been so named because it was used by the Śaka rulers of Western India.

Dr. Sten Konow regards[2] the initial year of the earlier Śaka era to be 83 B.C. K.P. Jayaswal[3] and Rapson also have admitted the existence of an earlier Śaka era. Rapson says :—

"and it may not unreasonably be suggested that the Cakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, may have brought with them into India their own system of reckoning and that this may be the era used in Seistān."[4]

All these scholars, who have admitted the existence of two Śaka eras, have counted the dates found in Śaka inscriptions on the basis of the 77-78 A.D. era. This is,

1 Norman Brown's Kālakācārya Kathā, p. 7, as quoted in E. H. of the Andhra Country, by K. Gopalachari, p. 16. 2 Acta Orientalia, Vol. III, p. 83. 3 145-100 B.C., J. B. O. R. Society, 1920, p. 21. 4 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 570.

perhaps, due to the fact that when only one Śaka era was known, it was easy to fix the whole chronology according to that era. But it is not safe to settle the matter summarily; it requires further investigation.

INDIAN TRADITION RECORDS THE ACTUAL ŚAKA ERA

The existence of an earlier Śaka era is supported by Indian tradition also. Sanskrit literature supplies the following two cases :—

Bhaṭṭa-Utpala[1], who wrote his commentary on Bṛhajjātaka, a work of Varāhamihira, in Śaka 888, quotes a verse from a work of Sphuji-dhvaja who was a Yavana king and astronomer. In this verse *Śaka-kāla* 1044 is recorded.[2] Utpala then remarks that Sphuji-dhvaja, the Yavana, was later than Śaka-kāla. This Śaka year 1044 must be earlier than Utpala who was writing in Śaka 888.

Prof. A.B. Keith quotes an interesting reference from a Nepalese manuscript of a Yavana Jātaka to the effect that king Sphūrji-dhvaja brought out the work in the year 191 of an unspecified era.[3] Further light may come if this Nepalese manuscript is edited and more carefully studied.

Another example of this type is found in the writings of Bhāskara. This Bhāskara, the author of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, who is quoted by Utpala (Śaka 888 = 966 A.D.), gives his own birth-date at the end of his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi as Śaka 1036, and states that he wrote Siddhānta Śiromaṇi at the age of 36, *i.e.* in Śaka 1072.[4] Now, if the

1 See Indian Culture Vol. XII. p. 81. 2 Bṛhajjātaka, VII. 9. 3 History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 531.

4 रसगुणपूर्णमही १०३६ समशकनृपसमयेऽभवन्ममोत्पत्तिः ।
रसगुण ३६ वर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः ॥ Praśnādhyāya, sl. 58.

quotation from Bhāskara found in Utpala is not a later interpolation, this Śaka year 1072 cannot be of the current Śaka era, because it will fall in 1150 A.D. as Prof. A.B. Keith and others have admitted.[1] This time is much later than Utpala. The fact can only be explained by supposing an earlier Śaka era, which was used even by a writer of a very late period like Bhāskara. There is, however, one difficulty as regards the date of Bhāskara. He writes:[2]—

गतोऽब्ध्यद्रिनन्दै ९७४ र्मिते शाककाले तिथीशै ११९५ र्भविष्यत्यथाङ्गाक्षसूर्यैः

Here, if this reading is correct, the year 974 Śaka having expired will show that Bhāskara was later than 974 Śaka. The difference between *Śaka-kāla* and *Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaya* has yet to be ascertained.

BHĀSKARA'S DATE A PUZZLE TO A. WEBER

Prof. Albrecht Weber although dealing with a wrong reading, long ago noticed this difficulty about Bhāskara's date. In his History of Indian Literature he wrote[3] :—

"Of these, the most eminent is Bhāskara, to the question of whose age, however, a peculiar difficulty attaches. According to his own account, he was born in Śake 1036 (A.D. 1114), and completed the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi Śake 1072 (A.D. 1150)...........; and with this the modern astronomers agree, who assign to him the date Śake 1072 (A. D. 1150). But Albīrūnī, who wrote in A. D. 1031 (that is, 83 years before Bhāskara's birth!), not merely mentions him, but places his work—here called Karaṇasāra—132 years earlier, namely in, A. D. 899; so that there is a discrepancy of 284 years between the two accounts. I confess my inability to solve the riddle........."

1 History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 523. 2 Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, p. 35, Benares ed. 3 Popular edition, 1914, p. 261, 262.

The above was written in 1852 A. D. In the English translation of Alberuni's work, which appeared in 1910, however, the reading Bhāskara has been rejected and Viṭṭeśvara adopted instead.[1] This new reading accepted by Dr. Edward C. Sachau is really the correct one. Vaṭeśvara's work exists unnoticed in a single fragmentary manuscript deposited in the Panjab University Library.[2] There the author gives his date, Ś a k e n d r a k ā l a 702 (780 A. D.)[3] He also states that he was the son of Mahadatta. But even this correction does not help to solve Weber's riddle. It has just been stated that Utpala, who is often quoted by Alberuni, also cites Bhāskara. Therefore, Bhāskara cannot be placed in the year 1072 of the current Śaka era.

Some scholars have tried to advance the date of Utpala, which is only a case of helplessness, as Utpala is quoted by Alberuni.[4] Others have tried to suppose two Bhāskaras, which is again ridiculous, because Utpala does not quote Bhāskara by name only, but quotes two verses from his work also, under the name Siddhānta Bhāskara.[5] Fortunately, the verses are found in the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi.

It is, therefore, quite clear that Bhāskara, the author of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, when giving his birth date was using the earlier Śake era. He, moreover, designedly distinguished the earlier Śaka era from the era which was called Śaka-kāla by the astronomers. He writes, *Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-Samaya*, which means "in the time of the Śaka king, which time was identical with the existence of the Śakas," and not with their extermination; or it may mean "the time of all the Śaka kings."

1 Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 156. 2 Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Panjab University Library, Acc. No. 3784. 3 See above p. 40. 4 Vol. I, p. 156. 5 Bṛhajjātaka, p. 2-3, Benares ed.

THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

It is accepted by all scholars that Nahapāna preceded the Caṣṭanas. Nahapāna's date is, therefore, very important for a reconstruction of the forgotten chronology of the Śakas. Hence the date of Nahapāna is now discussed.

DATE OF NAHAPĀNA

The date of Nahapāna is one of the most intricate but interesting problems of Indian history. Three main theories have so far been advocated. These are all contradictory and opposed to one another. It will be shown that all are wide of the mark and none is satisfactory.

Dubreuil,[1] Bakhle,[2] and Nilakantha refer the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., thus assigning Nahapāna some date about the end of the Ist century B.C. Cunningham also assigned the years in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Vikrama era.

R.D. Banerji refers these dates to the regnal years of Nahapāna.[3]

The advocates of the second theory, Rapson, Raychaudhuri, Bhandarkar, B.N. Puri and others, assign the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and place Nahapāna in the 2nd century A.D. Rapson accepts the view that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law are recorded in the years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and therefore, assigns Nahapāna to the period 119 to 124 A.D.

1 Ancient History of Deccan, p. 20 f. 2 J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p. 66 f.
3 J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 285.

Raychaudhuri concurs to this view and says, "the theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Ṣaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar after him,............"[1]

Dr. V.A. Smith assigns him quite a different date. In his Early History of India, he writes "........Nahapāna.... may be assigned approximately to the middle of the Ist century after Christ, or possibly earlier."[2]

A few years ago Dr. Deoras propounded a new theory. According to him, "we must give up the theory that Nahapāna has to be placed in the second century A.D. ....As the coinage of Wima Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of N a h a p ā n a, we may assign Nahapāna to *circa* 37 to 85 A.D."[3]

The Rev. H.R. Scott gives Nahapāna a place near the commencement of the Christian era.[4]

Jayaswal takes the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to be of the early Śaka era which he thinks to have begun in 123 B.C. He thus supposes Nahapāna to have ruled from 82 B.C. to 77 B.C. Sten Konow thinks the earlier Śaka era to have begun in 83 B.C. and assigns Nahapāna to about 57 B.C.

ANALYSIS OF THESE VIEWS

Of all these scholars, only K.P. Jayaswal and Sten Konow have tried to establish a part of the truth embodied in ancient indian tradition. The tradition is that there was some Śaka king who was defeated by a Vikrama in 57 B.C. The Śakas must, therefore, have been in Gujarat

1 P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 409. 2 Ed. 1924, p. 221. 3 Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 152-153. 4 J. B. B. R. A. S., 1907, XXII, quoted in J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 654-56.

and western India before that time. And as all Śaka coins are dated in a regular era, that era must have begun before 57 B.C.

THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era began with the rule of Nahapāna and the Caṣṭanas followed him immediately. There can hardly be two opinions on this point. The few scholars who dissent have been unable to bring together any convincing evidence.

Now, if in the light of the statements of Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others we accept 77-78 A.D. as the end of the Śaka rule, we shall have to admit that the Śaka rule in western India started not later than 204 B.C. This is evident; since according to the Tiloya Paṇṇatti we have to allow a reign of 242 years to the Caṣṭanas or Western Kṣatrapas and a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna. This gives us a total of 282 years, which means that the Śaka rule lasted from 204 B.C. to 78 A.D.

This result is in accordance with another Jain tradition. Kālakācārya according to a later Jain tradition, died in 376 A.V. or 171 B.C. He brought the Śakas to Gujarat. This may have happened about 30 to 40 years before his death. One or two ordinary rulers of the Kṣaharāta family had ruled and then Nahapāna appeared in Indian history. He may be placed in *circa* 204 B.C., the starting point of the earlier Śaka era.

Abul Fazl writes in the description of Subah of Gujerat :—

"Nirvāhana (=Naravāhana or Nahapāna) began his rule in 680 B.C. and ruled for 100 years, and Gandharb (=Gardabhilla) began his rule in 91 B.C. and ruled for

35 years."[1]

The source of Abul Fazl is extremely m u t i l a t e d. Yet the main information clearly supports the view that Nahapāna and others ruled some time before the beginning of the Christian era.

Before finishing this chapter, it will not be out of place to note down here a new piece of information about the beginning of an era which is p r o b a b l y the Śaka-Śālivāhana era. The information is found in a Burmese Chronicle, Malla Linkara, translated by Bishop Bigandet and quoted by M. Raja Rao[2] :—

"........King Thamug-dara (Samuddhara) of Prome, an eminent astronomer himself, reformed the calendar in the year of religion[3] 625 (A.D. 81) dropping away 622 years and began the r e f o r m e d computation with *two*, equating it to A.D. 79."

The theory set forth above is still tentative. New facts brought to light in this paper for the first time require careful consideration of historians. They may incidentally help those scholars who have begun to doubt the initial year of the Gupta era as proposed by Dr. Fleet. Both these questions are closely interrelated; and the material here presented will shed some light on these points.

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1 Āin-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 210, 1891 ed.; H.S. Jarrett gives the above dates from U.T. These are not given by Abul Fazl. He only gives the year which approximately comes to these dates. 2 B.C. Law Volume, part I, 1945, p. 395. 3 Is it not *Dharma* or *Kṛta saṁvat*?

CHAPTER V

THE KṢAHARĀTAS

Very little is known so far of the relation of the Kṣaharātas with the Śakas. Historians think that the surname Kṣaharāta has some connection with "Karatai," a Śaka tribe, mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography. Dr. V.R. Deoras[1] disagrees with the opinion of Mr. Bakhle that "Kṣaharāta is a Sanskrit form of the word Kharaosta occuring in the Mathura lion-capital inscription."[2] The paucity of material brings every conclusion within the range of possibility. But one thing is certain; that the Kṣaharātas are differentiated from the Śakas. It is probable that the Kṣaharātas are included in the eighteen Śakas figuring in the Purāṇas as the successors of the Sātavāhanas. In the Tiloya Paṇṇatti, Kṣaharāta Nahapāna's reign is differentiated from that of the Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas (or Bhadra[3] Caṣṭanas) who are later designated as Śakas. The word Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas if interpreted as such seems to indicate that the Caṣṭanas were servants either of the Āndhras or of Nahapāna. Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, takes pride in calling himself a Śaka in his inscriptions. Kṣaharātas

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1 Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 149.
2 J. B. B. R. A. S., 1927, p. 61. 3 *Cf.* Gaḍha Inscription of Rudrasena, where Caṣṭana and members of his family are termed as Bhadramukhas.

and Śakas are mentioned as separate dynasties even in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's inscription.[1] Rapson says, "it is possible....that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Caṣṭana Śakas."[2] The Taxila copper-plate of Pātika reveals that Liaka Kusūlaka and his son Pātika were members of the Chaharata (Kṣaharāta) family. Chaharada, Chaharata, Khaharata, Khakharata are all variants of the term Kṣaharāta. Mr. Y.R. Gupte points out that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname *Kharata* which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharata (Kṣaharāta).[3] The form khaharata is reminiscent of the original *khāhirāta* or *ṣāhirāṭa.* In the *praśasti* of Samudragupta, Ṣāhānuṣāhi title is found. This *ṣ* is often read as 'kh' even up to this day. Therefore, *ṣaharāta* is easily written as *Khaharāta* or in Sanskrit *Kṣaharāta* (compare *Pashto* and *Pakhto*, the language of the Pathans, as also *manuṣya* and the Panjabi word *manukha*). If this equation is correct, it is certain that these Ṣāhis or Khaharatas accompanied Kālakācārya from Sind. The suffix *rāṭa* may be the Sanskrit form, and the meaning may be the king of the Ṣāhis. But Dr. Sten Konow proposes another meaning for this word :—

"It may contain *Kshahara*, Pers. *Shahr*, and, as pointed out to me by Professor Morgenstiesne, a word corresponding to Avestan *rada*, caretaker."[4]

I BHŪMAKA, THE KṢAHARĀTA

In 1904 Prof. Rapson discovered the existence of an earlier member of the family of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna,

1 See above p. 26. 2 Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc., p. CIV. 3 Indian Antiquary, 1926, p. 178. 4 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, The Journal of Indian History Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 39.

Bhūmaka by name. So far no reference to him in Indian literature has been traced. He is known only from coins. Vincent Smith takes him to be a general of Gondophares.[1]

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that Bhūmaka and Ysamotika, the father of Caṣṭana, are identical.[2] Prof. Sylvain Levi is also of this opinion.[3] Both these scholars say that the word *Ysam* means earth and Bhūmaka is only a Sanskrit form of this word. If this is admitted, we will have to suppose that king Ysamotika did use a Sanskrit translation of his name on his coins. This is a supposition which should be supported by similar instances from coins of other foreign rulers. But this support is not forthcoming. Dr. Deoras thinks this suggestion to be untenable.[4] Prof. Rapson also opposes the suggestion when he writes, "Considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna, but there is, no evidence to show the relationship between them."[5] However, the forms of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters on their coins make a long interval between them impossible. Raychaudhuri, likewise, is unwilling to accept the theory of Levi and Konow. He writes, "identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons."[6] It should be further remembered that the coins of Bhūmaka tell us that he was a Kṣaharāta, whereas Caṣṭana was not a Kṣaharāta; it follows, therefore, that they belonged to separate families and that they were different persons. Greek influence is traceable as inscriptions on Bhūmaka's coins are in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī

1 E. H. I., 4th ed., p. 220. 2 C. I. I. Vol. II, p. LXX. 3 J. A., Vol. XI, p. 191. 4 Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 148. 5 Catalogue, p. CVIII. 6 P. H. A. I., p. 423, n.1, 4th ed.

and Greek alphabets.

Extent of his sway. As already pointed out, sufficient material is not available for constructing a history of Bhūmaka's reign. The use of the title Kṣatrapa on his coins shows that he had to govern only a small kingdom. We have to depend mainly upon archæological remains in order to determine the extent of his rule. Two statues, discovered at Bheraghat near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces, installed by his daughter, suffice to prove that the region around Jabalpur was in his possession.[1] It is possible that the Sātavāhanas might have been his foes in those parts. His coins have been discovered in various parts. But as proof of the extension of his empire this is not as authentic a source as the places where statues or other archæological remains have been found.

II NAHAPĀNA, THE KṢAHARĀTA, AN IRANIAN NAME

Nahavana,[2] Naravāha, Naravāhana, Nirvāhana,[3] Nakhavān and Nakhapāna (as in one manuscript of the Vāyu Purāṇa) are all variants of the one name Nahapāna. This name is not Indian. It is certainly an Iranian name; *naha* = people and *pana* = protector. Thus Nahapāna means a protector of people and corresponds better to the Indian word Naravāha than to Janapāla as Dr. V.R. Deoras thinks.[4]

His titles. We know very little about the emergence and rule of Nahapāna in Indian history, except through the light thrown upon the matter by the inscriptions of

1 See above p. 26. 2 Dr. Jayaswal showed similarity between Nahapāna and Nahavāṇa of the Jain tradition in his article 'The Brahmin Empire' published in the "Daily Express," an English paper from Patna, for the year 1914. 3 Āin-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 210. 4 Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 149.

his son-in-law Uṣavadāta and his minister Ayama. These inscriptions, which mention him as a kṣatrapa, throw light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of those times. In the Junar inscription of his minister Ayama, of the Vatsa Gotra, he is mentioned as a Mahākṣatrapa and a Svāmi. On his coins Nahapāna is styled simply as *rājan* with the family designation Kṣaharāta. All the titles Kṣatrapa, Mahākṣatrapa, Svāmi and Rājan show that he must have been a powerful ruler.

Duration of his reign. Early Jain tradition as recorded in the Tiloya Paṇṇatti[1] and the Ādipurāṇa[2] assigns a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna, after the Gardabhillas and just before the Caṣṭanas, who are followed by the Guptas. The Purāṇas[3] place Nakhavāna in the period of the later Śuṅgas. This view, supported by the evidence of Yugapurāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā, clearly goes to establish an early date for Nahapāna.

Defeat and death. Nahapāna's defeat is described in the Niryukti commentary by Bhadrabāhu Svāmī on Āvaśyakasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains. K.P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to draw the attention of historians to this work. Dr. Deoras has summarized the whole Jain account in the following lines. 'An old Jain *Gāthā* found in a commentary of the Āvaśyaka Sūtra states that Bharukaccha (Bharuyaccha) was famous for the religious teachers, Jinadeva and Kunala, Sātavāhana the king of Paithan (Paiṭhāṇa) andNahavana (Nahavāṇa). Two commentaries, one in Sanskrit and the other in Prākrit, explain this *gāthā*. According to the commentaries Nahavana had amassed great wealth and was staying at Bharukaccha, his capital. King Sātavāhana (Sālvāhana)

1 IV. 1507. 2 Ch. 60, verses 487 f. 3 Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

at Pratishṭhāna was famous for his powerful army. The latter invested Bharukaccha for two years, but was unable to capture it. He then retired to Paithan. After some time one of the ministers of Sātavāhana went to Nahapāna and said that he had been turned out by his ungrateful master. This was, of course, a clever ruse on the part of Sātavāhana. Nahapāna believing the minister took him in his service. The minister then advised Nahapāna to gain religious merit by spending his money on charities, and to secure a place of distinction for himself in the next world. Nahapāna spent a large amount from his treasury on religious benefactions. Next time when Sātavāhana besieged Nahapāna's capital, it fell owing to lack of funds, and Nahapāna himself died during the siege."[1]

The historical value of the tradition mentioned in the Jain work is very great. We know from it that Nahapāna was defeated by a Sātavāhana king. Vāsiṣṭhiputra's inscription states that Gautamīputra, "uprooted the Khakharāta family and destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas."[2] This is confirmed by the fact that Gautamīputra restruck two-third of the Jogalthembi hoard of the coins of Nahapāna with his own name.

His coins. Coins of Nahapāna furnish evidence about many useful facts. They show Graceo-Indian and Roman influences. They set a standard followed by the

1 Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 150. The *Śrutāvatāra-kathā* of Śrīdhara, in another Jain tradition, makes one Naravāhana a Jain mendicant. This Naravāhana, contrary to the above tradition, was the king of Vammideśa and Vasundharā town. He got a son by worshipping Padmāvati. A Jain *saṁgha* came to Vasundharā. The king of Magadha accompanied the *saṅgha* as a mendicant. Naravāhana also became a Jain *muni* ond was known as 'Bhūtabali.' He was the first to reduce to writing the Jain canon (quoted in 'Saraswatī' Vol. XXIX, p. 748, 749) 2 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

later Western Kṣatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. Only one specimen of his copper coins has so far been discovered. The provenance of this coin is Ajmer. The Jogalthembi (Nasik district) hoard of 1325 coins discovered in 1906 brought an immense store of his silver coins to light. These coins exhibit an extraordinary diversity not only in the apparent age but also in the facial features of Nahapāna. Some writers are of opinion that all these effigies could not have been portraits of any single individual. This is not reasonable as they might be showing various stages of his life.

His coins bear the insignia of the thunderbolt, arrow and discus, which connect him with the Pārthians and the northern Satraps, Hagana and Hagamash. The resemblance of his coins with those of king Rājubula is not surprising, as both belong to the Kṣaharāta dynasty.[1] This shows that Nahapāna cannot be placed in the era which begins with 78 A.D. He must be of the period of Rājubula, whose accepted date also requires investigation.

Two-thirds of the Jogalthembi hoard were restruck by Gautamīputra, the destroyer of the Khakharātas. As mentioned above, it is in keeping with inscriptional evidence that Gautamīputra defeated the Kṣaharātas. The coins of Nahapāna bear inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī and Greek alphabets.

III UṢAVADĀTA, THE ŚAKA

His name and family. As regards Uṣavadāta's name many writers think that Ṛṣabhadatta is the original Sanskrit form of Uṣavadāta. Rapson, for instance, in the Cambridge History of India writes, 'To this class belongs the Śaka Uṣavadāta (Ṛiṣabhadatta), the brother-in-law *(sic)*

1 J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 653.

of Nahapāna."[1] This theory will not bear examination. The minds of the Śakas could not have been saturated with Indian influence at that early period. Uṣavadāta is a pure Śaka name. In his inscriptions, the only forms mentioned are Uṣavadāta and Usabhadāta. The Nasik cave inscription no. 10, which is mostly in Sanskrit, gives the name as Uṣavadāta and not Ṛṣabhadatta, its Sanskritized form. It is evident, therefore, that Ṛṣabhadatta is not the original form. This is the view of Dr. Deoras also. He thinks Uṣavadāta to be a genuine Śaka name.[2] The Nasik inscription no. 14 distinctly says that he was a Śaka. His father Dinīka also bears a Śaka name. *Dinīka* may be derived from middle Persian *Dynyk*, which in its turn is derived from an old Iranian word *Dainiyak*.[3] It may mean, 'faithful' or 'godly'.

Uṣavadāta's wife Dakṣamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, bears a purely Indian name. It is, therefore, probable that Dakṣamitrā was the daughter of Nahapāna by an Indian wife. The building of a small room by Dakṣamitrā for charitable purposes shows her generosity.[4]

Uṣavadāta seems to have owed allegiance to some other king, as one Nasik cave inscription shows that he went to liberate Uttamabhadras from the Malayas, in order to execute the order of his overlord.

The name of his son, Mitradevaṇaka, seems also to be an Indian name. A small inscription shows that he also had his share in charitable works. He donated a pillar.[5]

His generosity. Uṣavadāta was very generous in his benefactions. His activities in social welfare are

1 p. 577. 2 Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 149. 3 Ibid.
4 E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 81 and 85. 5 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 56.

praiseworthy. His benefactions consisted of a large number of objects, from inns, wells, tanks etc., to immense sums of money. He gave lacs of cows in charity. He was called a *dharmātmā*, a religious man.[1] He was impartial in these matters. Both the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas were recipients of his charity. Moreover, a large number of place names[2] associated with his gifts, *viz.*, Govadhana-Vātha, Cikhalapadra-*grāma*, Prabhāsa, Bharukaccha, Daśapura, Śorapārga, Ujjayini etc., show that these acts of charity were distributed over widely situated parts of India.

AYAMA

The Junār cave inscription[3] dated in the year 46 brought to light the existence of Ayama, a minister of Nahapāna. This solitary source of information about him shows that he was of the *vatsa gotra*. The name Ayama appears not to be Indian, but his *gotra* shows Āryan origin. In this inscription he made some benefactions.

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10. 2 For the names see the inscriptions given in the appendix. 3 Archaeological Survey, Western India, Vol. IV, p. 103.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAṢṬANA DYNASTY

The Tiloya Paṇṇatti is the oldest Indian work known at present which has preserved the name Caṣṭana. The reading in the Ms. of R.B. Hiralal is *Bhacchaṭṭhaṇāṇa* (=भच्छट्ठणाण).[1] The reading of the printed edition is *Bhatthaṭṭhaṇāṇa* (=भत्थट्ठणाण).[2] Of the two readings the reading of R.B. Hiralal is decidedly the better one. This reading is supported by the Kharoṣṭhī legend of the king's name, *Caṭhanasa*, as read on his coins. The word Caṣṭana here is in the plural and, therefore, stands for the dynasty, which will now be dealt with.

Indian tradition places Bhacchaṭhanas or Bhṛtya-Caṣṭanas or Bhadra-Caṣṭanas just after Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta.[3] Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas are certainly Caṣṭana and his successors and no others. It is known from inscriptions that Ysamotika was not an important figure in those times. He may have been an ordinary soldier in the service of Nahapāna or Gautamīputra. There is nothing to prove that he ever ruled any part of western India. The dynasty is not named after him. In India dynasties were generally named after great kings : as, for example, the Yādava dynasty, the Paurava dynasty, the

1 Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Mss. in the C. P. and Berar, p. XVI.
2 Tiloya Pannatti, Ch. IV, *gāthās* 1507 and 1508.

Ikṣavāku dynasty, the Gupta dynasty and so on. So Caṣṭana must have gained power to be called the founder of a dynasty. Some time after the defeat of the Kṣaharātas at the hands of Gautamīputra, Caṣṭana may have raised his head and achieved importance.

THE KARDAMAKA KINGS

Rapson thinks the name of the dynasty to be Kardamaka. He refers to an inscription in the Kaṇherī caves where the daughter of a Śaka king Ru(dradāman?) boasts that she is descended from the family of the Kardamaka kings. Raychaudhuri does not agree with him and surmises that the word Kardamaka only denotes someone who lived on the banks of the Kardama, a river in Persia.[1] Neither of these scholars have been able to guess the right meaning of this word. Kardama territory is modern Sidhapur. Here was the hermitage of the great sage Kardama: the territory surrounding this hermitage has derived its name from that sage. This part of Gujarāta, which is now in the Baroda state, was under the Śakas; and the boast of the daughter of Ru(dradāman) was right. Kardamaka, then, is not the name of the dynasty, but denotes the territory where Rudradāman's forefathers ruled. Caṣṭana may at first have been a petty chief of that locality. That Kardama was a territory in Gujarāta or somewhere near it, is further proved by the following statements.

1. A Kardama village is mentioned in the Nerur copper-plate of Śaka year 622[2].

2. A *Kardama-bhūpati*, the ruler of *Tribhuvanagiri* is mentioned in the *praśasti* of *Prabhāvaka Carita.*[3]

1 P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 423. 2 History of Solankis by Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, quoted in Jain Sāhitya aura Itihāsa, p. 88, note 1. 3 End, verse 5.

3. Another *Kardama-rāja*, author of many *sūktis* and son of a *Rudra*, the author of *Trailokya Sundarī*, is mentioned in the introductory verses of *Tilakamañjarī* by Dharmapāla (A.D. 975) while eulogising ancient poets.[1]

समबान्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कैर्नाभिनन्द्यते । सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ।
सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथं हृद्या न सूक्तयः । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दर्याः यस्य प्रज्ञानिधिः पिता ॥

Now, the question arises whether this '*Rudra*' belonged to the royal family of Caṣṭanas or not ? In the absence of more authoritative material it is difficult to surmise anything. Anyhow, *Kardamarāja* appears to be a title only.

The name Ysamotika is of the Śaka language and, therefore, the dynasty of Caṣṭana may safely be regarded as a Śaka dynasty. Tiloya Paṇṇatti also supports this conclusion by identifying the Caṣṭanas with the Śakas. Bāṇa, the court poet of king Harṣavardhana, relates the story of a Śaka king who was killed by Candragupta, the Gupta. This Śaka king must have been a descendant of Ysamotika. So the dynasty may be regarded as the Śaka dynasty.

Duration of the dynasty. The *Purāṇas* refer to this dynasty as having ruled for 380 years.[2] Pargiter translates this figure as 183,[3] but this interpretation is not acceptable. According to unanimous Jain tradition Nahapāna ruled for 40 years, and the Caṣṭanas for 242 years. This gives a total of 282 years. The *Purāṇas* do not mention Nahapāna separately. Therefore, the total of 282 years may be regarded as approximately correct. It is known that Śaka coins show a continuous rule of about 300 years. The figure 282 is near this

1 History of Sanskrit Literature, Krishnamachariar, p. 475. 2 Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46. 3 Ibid, p. 72 and intro., p. XXV.

total. Therefore, 183 cannot be the right translation. Moreover, 'e' *Vāyu*, which is the best of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Manuscripts,[1] used by Pargiter, gives only 300 years for the eighteen Śakas. After this period the Śakas may have gone into the back ground.

I. MAHĀKṢATRAPA CAṢṬANA

Caṣṭana, the son of Ghsamotika, was the founder of a new dynasty. There are diverse views as to his relation to the Kṣaharātas. Rapson is right in concluding that they belonged to different families.[2] The use of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and 'the character of their names and titles' prove their northern and foreign origin. Some scholars have tried to solve this problem. Binayatosh Bhaṭṭācārya read on the bottom of a statue, found in the Devakula or statue-temple at Mathura, where the statues of Kaniṣka, his son, and Wima Kadphises were found, the word *Sastana*.[3] Ojha, Har Prasad Śāstri, Spooner and Jayaswal accepted this reading. Scholars take it to be the name of Caṣṭana and connect him with the Kuśānas. But *Sastana* cannot be connected with the word Caṣṭana. The inscriptions of the time of Kaniṣka are in Prākrit, and the Prākrit form of Caṣṭana is *Cathana*; but *Sastana* has only '*t*' and not '*th*'. Therefore, the suggestion of these scholars is impossible. Moreover, the Kuṣānas were *Tuṣāras*, and they had no relation with the Śakas. As already shown the two tribes were altogether different.

Duration of reign. The duration of Caṣṭana's reign has greatly baffled scholars. Rapson writes in this connection :—

"All that is known as to the duration of Caṣṭana's

1 Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46, note 48. 2 Catalogue, p. CXII.
3 J.B.O.R.S., 1920, pp. 51-53.

reign, both as kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as kṣatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72"[1] of some era. One thing is certain, which is also fully established by Indian tradition, namely that no interval passed between Caṣṭana and Nahapāna. Nahapāna ruled for 40 years at least, or even perhaps for 46 years. Then from the year 46 to the year 52 Caṣṭana ruled. Whether he ruled after this time also is not certain.

The Andhau inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman's time, which are in Prākrit mixed with Sanskrit, have given rise to considerable controversy. The inscriptions read :—

राज्ञो चाष्टनस य्सामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे ५२...

Scholars have interpreted these lines differently. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and R. C. Majumadar[3] think that these inscriptions belong to the period of the joint rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. R. D. Bannerji does not accept this suggestion. He says that there is no parallel case of this type in the history of India.[4] It seems that the original of the inscription was written by a man who knew very little of the current mode of writing. He has, therefore, been unable to make himself clear.

His capital. If we rely on Ptolemy, then the capital of Caṣṭana or the Caṣṭanas (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene).[5] Rapson shows the contemporaneity of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi with Caṣṭana by referring to the mention by Ptolemy of Paithan as the capital of this Āndhra king[6].

1 Catalogue, p. CXII. 2 I. A. Vol. XLVII, p. 154, n. 26. 3 *Cf.* Ibid.
4 E. I., Vol. XVI., pp. 22-23. 5 VII. 1,63. 6 Catalogue, p. CXIII.

II. JAYADĀMAN

Jayadāman was the son of Caṣṭana. He was only a Kṣatrapa. It has been assumed that during his reign the power of the dynasty suffered some diminution, probably through an Āndhra conquest. This is also clear from the boast of Rudradāman that he had won and not inherited his title.

There is the addition of the title *Svāmi* on his coins besides the other two titles *Rājā* and *Kṣatrapa*. This title regularly appears in inscriptions of the early members of the dynasty and on the coins of the later princes from the time of *Svāmi* Rudradāman II onwards. With him the proper names assume an Indian form, and except the termination *ghsada* which soon changes into *jada* and the form *dāman*, there is nothing left in the names to denote their foreign origin.

His copper coins are square in form. The first variety has on the obverse the figure of a humped bull. The reverse has a *caitya* of 6 arches while the usual number is three. The copper coins of the second variety bear the figure of an Elephant, an Ujjain symbol. The inscription on these coins is incomplete. Rapson writes, "If it could be proved that this coin was struck by Jayadāman, the fact that it resembles the coins of Ujjain would connect it with the city which was probably the capital or one of the capitals of his kingdom."[1]

A Śaka prince of Surāṣṭra, *Jayanandaka* or *Jayantaka* by name is mentioned in the *Bhāṇa Pādatāḍitaka* of *Śyāmilaka*.[2] Of the readings *Nandaka* and *Antaka*, the latter appears to be a corrupt one. If such is the case then *Nandaka* may be a Sanskrit rendering

1 Catalogue, p. CXVIII. 2 Caturbhāṇī, Patna ed., p. 7 and 39.

of *Dāman*. Dr. Sten Konow will not accept this equation. According to him the word *dāma* is Iranian. He compares it with the Avestan *dāman*, meaning place or creation.[1] The question is, however, open for the present, and so far, there is no evidence to prove that the names Jayanandaka and Jayadāman are of the same person. Moreover, the Jayanandaka of this drama appears to be different from the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman.

THE RISE OF THE CAṢṬANAS

III. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRADĀMAN

Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman and grandson of Caṣṭana, became an independent Mahākṣatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 of some era. His name shows that Śaiva influence had begun in the Śaka royal family. The only sources of information regarding his rule are the Andhau and Girnāra rock inscriptions and some coins. Even after discounting the poetic fancy of the writer, we get a lot of material for the reconstruction of the history of his reign from the Junāgarh inscription.

He won for himself the title of Mahākṣatrapa.[2] According to Dr. Raychaudhuri "this probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamīputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess."[3] Men of all classes, *i.e.*, all his subjects, chose him as their protector.[4] He seems to have adopted Indian modes of living. He was well versed in various sciences such as grammar *(śadba)*, polity *(artha)*, music *(gandharva)*, logic *(nyāya)*

1 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 38.

2 स्वयमधिगत महाक्षत्रपनाम्ना

3 P. H. A. I., 4th ed., p. 424.

4 सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन……………

and many others.[1] It was his knowledge of grammar which made him well versed in Sanskrit. His love for the Sanskrit language is apparent from the fact that while the inscriptions of many other Śaka rulers are in Prākrit mixed with Sanskrit, the famous inscription of Rudradāman is in a pure and elegant Sanskrit. He took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle.[2] This shows how humane and civilized his rule was. He was well versed in the art of warfare, as the enumeration of his conquests prove. His rule does not seem to have been oppressive. The number of taxes levied does not seem to have been large. The Sudarśana lake was repaired "by spending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and the province by exacting taxes *(kara)*, forced labour *(viṣṭi)*, benevolences *(praṇaya)* and the like.[3] Moreover, he adopted the ancient Indian mode of government, by appointing *Mati-Sacivas* (counsellors) and *Karma-Sacivas* (executive officers) who were fully endowed with the qualifications of a minister.[4]

THE DOMINIONS OF RUDRADĀMAN

The Girnāra inscription is an important source of information on this point. Rudradāman mentions in this inscription his sway over the following countries :—

1. *Pūrva-apara Ākara-Avanti*, or East Mālwā and West Mālwā. The capital of East Mālwā was Vidiśā and the capital of West Mālwā was Ujjain. Rudradāman

1 शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां··············

2 [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुष-वध-निवृत्ति-कृत-सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन-अन्य[त्र] संग्रामेषु···

3 अपीडयि[त्वा] कर-विष्टि-प्रणय-क्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा[त्] महता-धनौघेन············

4 मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तैः··· ··· ··· ···

must have made Ujjain his capital.

2. *Anūpa*, the modern Maheśvara in Nimar district on the river Narbadā, lying south of Mālwā.

3. *Nīvṛta*; is, so far, unidentified.

4. *Ānartta*; the territory of North Kathiawar was known under the name Ānarta. Its ancient capital was Ānandapura, the modern Vaḍnagar. The name Ānarta appears frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

5. *Surāṣṭra*. Surāṣṭra is South Kathiawar. Girnāra, the find-spot of this inscription, was in this land.

6. *Śvabhra*, the territory of Sābaramatī.

7. *Maru-Kaccha*. If Maru-kaccha be accepted as the correct reading then Maru means the desert part of Rājaputānā and Kaccha denotes the modern Cutch. But if Maru is a scribal mistake for Bharu, then Bharu-Kaccha will be one word, denoting Bharoch. It may be pointed out that in the inscription this name is not clearly legible.

8. *Sindhu;* is the lower Indus region, the original home of the Śakas, whence they came to Gujarat and Kathiawar.

9. *Sauvīra*. Multan was the ancient capital of this kingdom.

10. *Kukura*, a part of Rājaputānā, and the *Kin-che-lo* of Hiuen Tsiang.[1] Kukura Yādavas are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

11. *Aparānta*. According to the Purāṇas the western part of India had in it the famous ports of Sopārā and Bharu-Kaccha and territories like Nasik.

1 See Bombay Gazetter, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 36, n. 7.

But as Kaccha or Bharu-Kaccha is already enumerated, therefore, Aparānta according to this inscription, must have been a small country only.

12. *Niṣāda* was the country of the Western Vindhyas and Arāvalli.

13. *Yaudheya.* The Yaudheya kṣatriyas lived in the Bijayagarh region of Bharatapura and in Johyabāra in the Bahāwalapura state.

This list makes it clear that the greatest Śaka king ruled as far north as Multan in the north and to Nasik and Sopārā in the south-west. The region of Mathura, which was once under the Kṣatrapas had passed from the hands of the later Śakas. Some very powerful rulers must have established themselves in those parts, for even a king like Rudradāman could not subdue them.

Rudradāman twice defeated Sātakarṇī, the lord of the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, but did not destroy him. Sātakarṇī had married the daughter of Rudradāman and hence he was not killed by the Mahākṣatrapa. Rudradāman reinstated many deposed kings. Centuries after him, Samudragupta or Hariṣeṇa, the writer of his *praśasti*, also took pride in making a similar statement. There is no doubt that the Gupta emperor took this idea from Rudradāman.

FURTHER LIGHT THROWN BY THE INSCRIPTION ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF KĀTHIAWAR

It has been noticed that the coins of Nahapāna and many other early Western Kṣatrapas had inscriptions in Greek letters also. The coins of Rudradāman have Greek letters, but the title Mahākṣatrapa is not transliterated into Greek. It is apparent that the Greek

characters were slowly dying out. The Girnāra inscription points out the fact that as early as the time of Aśoka Maurya, a Greek Tuṣāspha was acting as governor of Aśoka in this territory. Other Greek officers must have followed him, and it is possible that the usage of the Greek characters in Kathiawar and Gujarat was the result of the sojourn there of such Greeks. It is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁśa that a Yona priest *Dhamma-rakhita* was sent to Aparānta to further the cause of Buddhism, about 250 years after Buddha.[1] Therefore, Greek letters were not used by Nahapāna for the first time, but were already in use by foreigners who lived in this part of India.

According to the observation of Rapson from the *period of Rudradāman "onwards the inscription in Greek* characters probably ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear on the coins until the end of the dynasty."[2]

IV. DĀMAGHSADA (DĀMAJADAŚRĪ) I

This name is spelled as *ghsada* according to Rapson. Śrī is only a sign of kingly respect. But if *ghsada* may be read as *ysada*, as in Ghsamotika or Ysamotika, the *ysa* reading seems to be correct, then *jada* is a very easy change from *ysada*. The name again is purely Śaka. His mother may have been of Śaka descent. Dāmajadaśrī I and Rudrasiṁha were the two sons of Rudradāman. Their coins bear testimony to this relation. The coins again tell us that Dāmajadaśrī was a Kṣatrapa as well as a Mahākṣatrapa. He appears to have been the elder brother. The dated coins furnish evidence that after his death, there arose a quarrel for the throne between his

1 Mahāvaṁśa, Geiger's ed., p. 82. 2 Catalogue, p. 78.

son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudrasiṁha I. The latter appears to have won in this struggle.

He carried on the tradition of his father as regards the use of Sanskrit. The legend on the one known coin of his reign is in correct Sanskrit.[1] His son Satyadāman also continued the use of Sanskrit.

So far, no inscriptions are extant of his reign. In the Gundā inscription of his brother Rudrasiṁha I and Gaḍhā inscription of his nephew, Rudrasena I, Dāmaghsada finds no place in the genealogical table along with his sons Jīvadāman and Satyadāman. Rapson has thrown light on the cause of this omission. He writes, "the dated coins clearly show that, after the reign of Dāmaghasada (Dāmajadaśrī) I, there were two claimants for the succession, his son, Jīvadāman, and his brother Rudrasiṁha I. The struggle was eventually decided in the favour of the latter; and............the successful family omitted from its genealogical lists the names of rulers whom it must have regarded as usurpers"[2]

V. MAHĀKṢATRAPA JĪVADĀMAN

Jīvadāman was the son of Dāmajadaśrī I. The series of dated coins begins with this reign. The dates are given in *Brāhmī* numerals behind the head of the king.

Jīvadāman bears the title of *Mahākṣatrapa* on his coins. He was in full power from the year 100 to 103 and from 110 to 113. During the intervening period it seems his uncle Rudrasiṁha had usurped authority. Again in the years 119 and 120 he rose in power. This

1 रुद्रदाम्नः पुत्रस्य क्षत्रपस्य दाम[ध्स] Catalogue, p. CXXIV. 2 Ibid, p. CXXIII.

shows that all his reign must have been a period of continuous war amongst members of his own house.

In his Junāgarh inscription of *varṣe* 100+........, he is termed as *svāmi*. This inscription is very fragmentary and no further information can be extracted from it.

VI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASIṀHA I

Rudrasiṁha I was the younger son of the famous Rudradāman I. His is the first name in the line of the Śaka kings which is purely Indian. His mother may have been Indian. Rapson[1] has clearly summed up his reign in the following manner :—

(1) as Kṣatrapa, for the first time in the year 102-103;

(2) as Mahākṣatrapa, for the first time from 103-110;

(3) as Kṣatrapa for the second time from 110-112·

and (4) as Mahākṣatrapa, for the second time from 113-118 certainly, and possibly to 119.

As remarked in the case of Jīvadāman, so also the reign of Rudrasiṁha must have been a period of constant struggle.

The Gundā inscription tells us that an Ābhīra *Senāpati* Rudrabhūti, son of *Senāpati* Bāpaka was in the military service of the Śakas. The Mevasā inscription also mentions an Ābhīra Vasuraka. The Gundā inscription calls Rudrasiṁha a Mahākṣatrapa.

The use of Prākrit on inscriptions of his coins indicates Sātavāhana influence. Rapson observes that "the earliest coins of this prince bear a youthful head without moustache. The moustache, which is generally seen in portraits of the Western Kṣatrapas, appears first on the coins of Rudrasiṁha I in the year 103."[2]

1 Ibid, p. CXXVI. 2 Ibid, p. CXXVII.

VII. KṢATRAPA SATYADĀMAN

Satyadāman, son of Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī) I, is known from a single coin only. The coin-legend is in perfect Sanskrit and says that Satyadāman was the son of Dāmajadaśrī I. The date of the issue of the coin is not given. It is of the period when Satyadāman was a Kṣatrapa. Unless more coins of this king come to light, it is difficult to determine the period of his reign.

Rapson, however, writes, "the reign of Satyadāman as Kṣatrapa was concurrent either with that of his father as K ṣ a t r a p a, or with the first reign of his brother Jīvadāman, as mahākṣatrapa."[1]

VIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASENA I

In the Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prākrit inscriptions the date of the Mulvasar (Dwarka) stone inscription o Rudrasena is read as *varṣe* 232.[2] This date was corrected to 122 by Rapson[3] and by Luders in his list.[4]

Fortunately there is another inscription found at Gaḍhā of the year 127 or 126 which belongs to Rudrasena I. This inscription is very important as it gives the longest genealogical table of this dynasty. Here it is that we find the adjective ***Bhadramukha*** with the names of Caṣṭana, Rudradāman and Rudrasiṁha. The dynasty was perhaps called the ***Bhadra*** dynasty[5] also, as is evident from the form ***Bhat-Castanas*** of Tiloya Paṇṇatti.

He calls himself the son of Rudrasiṁha on his coins. His coins show that he was a Kṣatrapa in the year 121. His reign as a Mahākṣatrapa may be fixed approximately between the years 122 and 144.

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1 Ibid., p. CXXIX. 2 Above p. 23. 3 Catalogue, p. CXXIX. 4 E. I., Vol. X, No. 962. 5 See, ch. IX.

Mahādevī Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena, is mentioned in a seal found at *Vaiśālī*.[1]

IX. KṢATRAPA PṚTHVĪSENA

Pṛthvīsena was the son of Rudrasena I. He was merely a Kṣatrapa and reigned in the year 144 only. Further information about him is wanting. His coins are very rare.

X. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SAṄGHADĀMAN

Saṅghadāman was the son of Rudrasiṁha I. and uncle of Pṛthvīsena. From his coins, which are very rare, we know that he ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa in the years 144 and 145. His brother, Rudrasena I, must have died in the beginning or middle of the year 144.

XI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA DĀMASENA

Dāmasena may possibly have been the youngest son of Rudrasiṁha I. He reigned as Mahākṣatrapa between the years 145 and 158. After the year 158 there was a set back to the power of the Caṣṭanas when Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradatta usurped power.

XII. KṢATRAPA DĀMAJADAŚRĪ II

Dāmajadaśrī II was the son of Rudrasena I and brother of Pṛthvīsena. His coins bear the dates 154 and 155. He was a Kṣatrapa under his uncle, Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena.

XIII. KṢATRAPA VĪRADĀMAN

Vīradāman was the son of Dāmasena and was a Kṣatrapa from the year 156 to 160. Some new coins of the Western Kṣatrapas have quite recently come to light.[2]

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1 राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी रुद्रसिंहस्य दुहितु राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी रुद्रसेनस्य भगिन्या महादेव्या प्रभुदमाया [:] A.S.I., A.R., 1913-14, p. 136, No. 249.

2 *Journal Numismatic Society of India*, 1939, pp. 24, 25.

There are two coins which are dated in the years 157 and 158. Mr. A. S. Gadre surmises that these coins belong to Vīradāman. The obverse side is defaced in both these coins and hence the names are not to be found.

MAHĀKṢATRAPA ĪŚVARADATTA

During the Kṣatrapa period of Dāmajadaśrī and Vīradāman, Dāmasena was ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa. His rule lasted up to the year 158. The next king Yaśodāman of the Caṣṭana line was also a Kṣatrapa. His coins are dated in the years 160 and 161. He assumed the title of a Mahākṣatrapa in 161. A question, therefore, arises as to who the Mahākṣatrapa was during the years 159 and 160 and even probably for parts of the years 158 and 161.

Prof. Rapson has catalogued coins of a Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta,[1] which fit in with the coins of this dynasty, and he, therefore, suggested that Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta was the overlord during these years. Īśvaradatta did not belong to the Caṣṭana line. It is apparent from the fact that his coins, unlike those of the Śakas, are dated in his regnal years. Bhagavan Lal and Rapson are of the view that Īśvaradatta belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty of Nasik.[2] The Nasik Cave inscriptions contain an inscription of an Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of Śivadatta, who records his date in his regnal years. Therefore, the assumption of Bhagavan Lal and Rapson looks probable, though not quite certain. The truth can only be ascertained when more material on the subject is discovered. That Ābhīraka princes had names ending in '*datta*' is further proved by the one-act play *Pādatāḍitakam*.[3] Therein an Ābhīraka prince

1 Catalogue, pp. 124, 125. 2 Ibid, pp. CXXXIII, CXXXIV. 3 Caturbhāṇī, Patna ed., p. 7.

Mayūradatta is mentioned. The Ābhīra names have a distinct similarity, *viz.*, Śivadatta, Īśvaradatta and Mayūradatta. There are traces of Greek letters on the coins of the last named king also.

XIV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA YOŚODĀMAN I

Yaśodāman was the second son of Dāmasena, and was a Kṣatrapa in the year 161. He assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa in the year 161. He restored the lost supremacy of his family which had been usurped by Īśvaradatta, but reigned for a year or a year and a half only. The period must have witnessed almost continuous warfare and his death may have resulted therefrom.

XV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA VIJAYASENA

Vijayasena, the third son of Dāmasena, succeeded his brother Yaśodāman as Mahākṣatrapa. He was a Kṣatrapa in the year 160, and possibly in the year 161 also, along with his brothers Vīradāman and Yaśodāman. In the year 162 he became a Mahākṣatrapa. From this year he struck coins every succeeding year up to 172. The dates on the coins are regular and the coin-legends are very clear. Of all the coins of the kings of this dynasty, The coins of Vijayasena are in the best condition. Rapson writes, 'The standard of the coins shows a slow degradation every year.'[1] It may be inferred from this that the king was gradually losing in power.

XVI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA DĀMAJADAŚRĪ III

Dāmajadaśrī III was the fourth son of Dāmasena. He succeeded his brother Vijayasena as Mahākṣatrapa in the year 172 or 173 and ruled up to the year 176. The coins are badly struck and the degradation in the standard

1 Catalogue, p. CXXXVII.

continues during this reign also. The Śakas must have been fighting with some powerful enemy and the treasury consequently diminishing every year.

XVII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASENA II

Rudrasena II was the son of Vīradāman and succeeded his three uncles as Mahākṣatrapa in about the year 179 and ruled up to the year 196.

XVIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA VIŚVASIṀHA

Viśvasiṁha was the son of Rudrasena II. The coins being badly minted, the dates on them are not clear. Viśvasiṁha was at first a Kṣatrapa for one or two years and then became a Mahākṣatrapa. His reign ended sometime in the year 210 or 211, as in the year 211 Bhartṛdāman was ruling as Mahākṣatrapa.

XIX. MAHĀKṢATRAPA BHARTṚDĀMAN

Bhartṛdāman was the son of Rudrasena II and probably the younger brother of Viśvasiṁha. He was a Kṣatrapa from the year 201 to 204. He became a Mahākṣatrapa in 211. His position from 205 to 210 is uncertain on account of the absence of coins. He certainly reigned up to the year 217. Was not this Bhartṛdāman the same as the Bhartrīhari, who was killed by a Vikrama; and who is mentioned by Captain Wilford on the authority of the *vaṁśāvalis.*[1]

XX. KṢATRAPA VIŚVASENA

Bhartṛdāman must have lost his supremacy and even his life in some great war. He was succeeded in the year 216 by his son Viśvasena as Kṣatrapa. This prince was only a Kṣatrapa. His dated coins up to the year 226 are nearly illegible.

1 A. R., Vol. IX, p. 152 and 202.

CHAPTER VII

DOWNFALL OF THE CASṬANAS

As already pointed out[1] the *Purāṇas* state that there were eighteen kings of the Śaka dynasty. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* enumerates only sixteen kings. *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* lists thirty Śaka lords, but only eighteen as *bhūpatis* or Mahākṣatrapas. On the authority of these works and the coins, the number eighteen seems to be approximately correct. Bhartṛdāman was the last of these eighteen Mahākṣatrapas of note. His reign extended up to the year 215. The Śakas ruled for about 100 years after this period also, but their power was very much reduced. They were at the mercy of another great power. Interruption in the continuity of the coins suggests the possibility of their being at the mercy of some other power. It is not yet fully certain which this power was. It may have been the conquest of Mayūraśarman which caused the humiliation of the Śakas[2]; and the Śakas may have been Kṣatrapas or vassals under this king for some time. Again some time after Mayūraśarman the Guptas under Samudragupta came from the west to subdue the Śakas. The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, regarded by some scholars as a posthumous inscription,

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1 Above p. 14. 2 Above p. 33, No. 29.

clearly mentions that the Śaka lords bowed at the feet of the great Gupta emperor.

Samudragupta or *Vyāghraparākrama*, Candragupta or *Siṁhavikrama* and Mahendragupta or *Siṁhavikrama* are well known names from coins. The Tibetan historians give to the Gupta dynasty the name of *Siṁha*.[1] The *Siṁha* dynasty was constantly at war with the Śakas. Samudragupta subdued but did not annihilate them. A Gupta minister and a Śaka prince are seen sitting in a house together in *Sārvabhaumanarendrapura*, a city in Surāṣṭra.[2] It was *Śakāri* Vikrama or Candragupta Vikramāditya who destroyed the Śakas and ended their rule in India. To have a clear apprehension of these incidents it is necessary to gather together all the references to *Śakāri* Vikramāditya.

ŚAKĀRI VIKRAMĀDITYA

1. Three verses of the poet *Amaru* are preserved in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.[3] The first verse states that *Śakarpu* (or the foe of the Śaka) gave ten provinces to a certain man. The third verse states that this king was the master who trained his disciples to make widows of the Śaka women. This is an ancient verse as is attested by the fact that it is quoted in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*[4] of *Śrī Bhoja-rāja* (11th century A.D.).

The verse also indicates that Amaru was a contemporary or even a court-poet of *Śakarpu* Candragupta.

2. The words '*śakarpu*' and '*śakarāti*' are found in the *Rāmacarita* of *Abhinanda*. The poet praises the foe

1 A Tibetan Account of Bengal by Dr. S.C. Sarkar, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 and 252 f. 2 *Pādatāḍitakam*, p. 7, Caturbhāṇī, Patna ed. 3 Lahore ed., p. 297. 4 Chapter XX.

of the Śakas who spread the works of *Kālidāsa*, and who was a great patron of talented poets.[1]

3. *Kṣīrasvāmi* (11th century A.D.), who wrote a commentary on the lexicon of *Amara*, quotes verses from an earlier lexicographer, in one of which it is said that 'Vikramāditya *Sāhasāṅka* and *Śakāntaka* (or the foe of the Śaka) are synonyms.[2] This Vikramāditya was Candragupta II. He was also called *Sāhasāṅka*. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV refer to the various deeds of Sāhasāṅka Candragupta.

4. The copper plate of Devapāladeva, of the year 33, states, that king Devapāladeva "once more cleared the way of self sacrifice and charity, which was blockaded by Kali at the death of *Śakadviṭ* or the foe of the Śakas."[3] This shows that the 'foe of the Śakas' was a renowned giver of charities. He was no other than Candragupta Vikramāditya. This is gathered from the Cambay copper plate grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govind IV of Śaka 852,[4] and from the Sanjana copper plates of Śaka 795.[5] In the first grant the word *tyāga* is used as a qualification of *Sāhasāṅka*, and the second grant makes it clear that this giver of charities belonged to the Gupta dynasty. From the fragments of the drama, *Devī-Candragupta*, we know that this king was no other than Candragupta Vikramāditya.

5. *Kalhaṇa* writes in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Vikramāditya, a relative of Pratāpāditya, was not *Śakāri-Vikramāditya* and that *Śakāri* was another king.[6]

From the above five references it is clear that

1 Beginning of Sarga 22. 2 Amarakoṣa, II. 82. 3 E. I., Vol. XVII, p. 320 and Vol. XVIII, p. 305. 4 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 38. 5 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 248. 6 II. 6

Candragupta Vikramāditya or Candragupta *Sāhasāṅka*, the patron of a poet *Kālidāsa*, was the well known *Śakāri* of Indian history. It was he who finally brought the Śaka power to an end. The Mathura pillar inscription of Candragupta shows that during the fifth regnal year of this king, sixty-one years of the Gupta era had elapsed. If one year is allowed for the rule of king Rāmagupta, it can be calculated that Samudragupta ruled up to the year fifty-five. Samudragupta may have subdued the Śakas even thirty years before that time. Mayūraśarman who preceded the Guptas, had subdued the Śakas. It is, therefore, clear that before their final overthrow the Śàkas were weakened to a great extent, and the end of the reign of Bhartṛdāman marks the weakness of the Śakas, and of the Caṣṭana dynasty. By the end of the reign of Candragupta, the Śakas were completely annihilated. as rulers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LATER ŚAKAS

I. KṢATRAPA RUDRASIṀHA II

With the beginning of the reign of Rudrasiṁha II, there is an interruption in the direct line of the Caṣṭanas. Rudrasiṁha's father, *Svāmi* Jīvadāman bears no such titles as were borne by the previous rulers. The continuity of the dates on coins, however, suggests a connection with the Caṣṭanas. Rapson writes, "His (Rudrasiṁha's) title *Svāmī*, lord, and the form of his name with the characteristic, *dāman*, seem, however, to indicate near relationship to the family of Caṣṭana, one of whom, indeed, had borne precisely the same name."[1] Buhler, on the other hand, suggests that he may have belonged to a younger branch of the royal family.[2] Anyhow, it seems certain that he had some connection with the Śakas.

Rudrasiṁha II became a Kṣatrapa in the year 227 and remained in office up to about the year 239. In his reign and that of his successor the office of Mahākṣatrapa seems to have been held in abeyance. So far, there is no material available to show whether any one occupied this office or not.

1 Catalogue, p. CXLI. 2 J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 66.

II. KṢATRAPA YAŚODĀMAN

After Rudrasiṁha his son Yaśodāman began to reign. His rule extends from the year 239 to 254. The incidents mentioned in the Kānākherā stone inscription of Śaka Śrīdharavarman are to be placed during this period, if the date of the inscription be regarded as 241. During this period there is again a gap of about sixteen years in the continuous rule of the Kṣatrapas. Coins and inscriptions do not help to fill the gap. This may be the approximate time of the conquest of Samudragupta.

III. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRADĀMAN II

With the beginning of this reign, the title *svāmi* is used for all subsequent kings. No material is, so far, available to construct a history of the reign. Svāmi Rudradāman II is known only from the coins of his son Svāmi Rudrasena III.

IV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASENA III

Rudrasena's coins are divided into two groups. The first group ranges from the year 270 to 273; the second extends from the year 286 to 300. The disappearance of the coinage between the years 273 and 286 again indicates a political disturbance. After making a careful analysis of the Uparkot hoard of Svāmi Rudrasena III, the Rev. H. R. Scott wrote, "Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts............we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden."[1]

1 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, p. 209, quoted by Rapson in his Catalogue, p. CXLV.

V. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI SIṀHASENA

Siṁhasena was the son of a sister of Svāmi Rudrasena III. It is evident that Rudrasena III either died young and left no heir, or that his family came to an end in wars with the Guptas. So his sister's son was installed as Mahākṣatrapa. The only date on his coins which is certain is either 304 or 306. There is a peculiar variety of his coins, in which we find *Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa-Svāmi-Rudrasena-svasriyasa* written.[1] The title *Mahārāja Kṣatrapa* for Mahākṣatrapa is not met with on any of the previous or later coins of this dynasty.

VI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI [RUDRA] SENA IV

Regarding Rudrasena IV, the son of Svāmi Siṁhasena, nothing is known except his name. Only a single coin of this king is available.

VII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI SATYASIṀHA

Satyasiṁha is known only from the coins of his son. Rapson writes that "he may have been a brother of Svāmi Siṁhasena.[2]

VIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASIṀHA III

With Rudrasiṁha III, the son of Svāmi Satyasiṁha, the line of the Śaka Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas ends. The date of his reign is *circa* 310. As no other dates of his reign are available, it is difficult to determine the duration of his reign.

We find that four Mahākṣatrapas reigned from the year 304 to the year 310. This leads to the possibility that it was a period of constant warfare. This was the period of Gupta conquest. Candragupta Vikramāditya must have killed one of the Mahākṣatrapas, most probably the last one, named Rudrasena, and was, hence, named *Śakāri.*

1 Catalogue, p. 190. 2 Ibid, p. CXLIX.

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE ŚAKAS

I. ŚAKA POLITY

The country under the Śaka rule. The effects of the regime of the earlier Śaka kings on the Āryan society of India have been vividly described in *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. The whole description is, of course, in the future tense, *i.e.*, in the style of most of the *Purāṇas*. It is written that "the Śakas will destroy one fourth of the total number of the inhabitants by the sword and one fourth will be carried by them to their own city. At the end of the Śaka regime the land of Āryāvarta will be void of men. The work of ploughing the fields will be carried on by the females."[1]

Such was the disastrous condition to which this country, especially its north-west, was reduced during the earlier Śaka rule. Alberuni also alludes to the barbarism of the Śakas.[2] Nahapāna and the dynasty of Caṣṭana were, however, better than the early marauders. Nahapāna endowed villages to the brāhmaṇas.[3] Uṣavadāta made arrangements for the livelihood of the Buddhist bhikṣus.[3] Rudradāman adopted the Hindu ideal of the

1 *Cf.* *Gārgī-saṁhitā*, *Yugapurāṇa*, verses, 54-84. 2 Above p. 41.
3 See appendix.

protection of the cow and the brāhmaṇa.

Law of succession. The coins of the Śakas clearly show that in the royal family the law of inheritance of the kingdom was not for the elder son only, but was for all the sons of a king. When there were four brothers, they often all inherited the throne in succession. When the younger brother of a deceased Mahākṣatrapa did not get the kingdom he waged war against his brother's son, as is seen in the case of Rudrasiṁha I and Jīvadāman. Never throughout these centuries was there a queen on the throne, and no minor ever succeeded.

The King. The king, who was called a Mahākṣatrapa, was the commander of the armies also. In great battles he himself took part. Rudradāman won his own victories. The king had Kṣatrapas or governors under him. The heir-apparent was always one of the Kṣatrapas.

State officials. Śakas had the same type of state officers as the Hindu kings of those days had. Rudradāman had under him *Mati-sacivas* and *Karma-sacivas.* The officials were often Śakas and Pahlavas. Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, was a Śaka. Suviśākha, a minister of Rudradāman, was a Pahlava. Śaka Śrīdharavarman of the Kānākherā stone inscription was a *Mahādaṇda-nāyaka.*

Svāmins. A large number of Śaka rulers are called *Svāmi* in their epigraphical records, *e. g.*, Svāmi Caṣṭana, Svāmi Rudradāman and so on. Long before them and in the region of Mathura, Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāṣa was also called a *Svāmi.* The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata* lays down that a *Yuvarāja* or an heir-apparent should be addressed as *Svāmi* or *bhadramukha* in the dramas.[1] From this

1 स्वामीति युवराजस्तु कुमारो भर्तृदारकः ।
सौम्य भद्रमुखेत्येवं ··· ··············· ॥

use of the term *svāmi* in the Śaka inscriptions as well as in *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra*, Prof. Levi argues that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has borrowed this usage from the contemporary records of the Śakas.[1] Professor Keith does not agree with Levi.[1] There is no use going into the details of this controversy here, but one thing seems probable: *svāmi* in the Śaka records may mean an heir-apparent. The Śakas adopted this title from Hindu society. Hindu kings of that period used the title. Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Pulumāvi uses *sāmi* for himself.[2]

Soldiers. Śaka soldiers served under their own kings and also under Hindu kings. Just preceding Gautamīputra there was a king Śakasena in the Sātavāhana line. Among other views it is possible that he may have been given that name on account of employing a large number of Śaka soldiers in his army. Amongst the coins of the Sātavāhanas, those bearing the coin-legends, ***Śaka-sena*** have been found. The Śaka soldiers had penetrated as far south as *Śrīparvata*. There are two sculptures at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa showing a warrior in Śaka dress.[3]

II. ECONOMIC CUSTOMS

Treasury and currency. Nahapāna's treasury is mentioned in the commentary of the ***Āvaśyaka-sūtra.*** Nahapāna gave gold in charity. In his Girnāra rock inscription Rudradāman records that his treasury was full of gold, silver and precious stones, such as *vajra*, *vaiḍūrya* and *ratna*. Silver coins of the Śakas have been found in different parts of western India. S.K. Chakraborthy is

Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Series ed,, p. 380, *śloka*, 76. The word *bhadramukha* and *svāmi* in the Śaka inscriptions may have been adopted from this usage.

1 The Sanskrit Drama by A. B. Keith, p. 66. 2 Select Inscriptions, p. 195.
3 Above p. 10.

of the opinion that the silver coin with copper tokens was the standard coin in the territories ruled by the Western Kṣatrapas.[1] Lead coinage was also prevalent. But, so far, no gold coin has come to light.

III. RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

State religion. In the hoary past the Śakas professed the Vedic religion. Their society was divided into four classes. *Sagara* reduced them to the state of low caste people. It is not known what religion the *Sindhu-Śakas* adopted. We only know that from the time of Nahapāna onwards the Śakas were under Buddhist and Hindu influence. Nahapāna undertook the pilgrimage to Hindu holy places of *Prabhāsa etc.* in western India. Nahapāna's daughter and son-in-law both performed pious deeds in accordance with Buddhist and Hindu customs. The introduction of Śaiva names, *e. g.*, Rudradāman, Rudrasiṁha. and Rudrasena indicate Śaiva influence on the Śaka royal family. H., C. Roy Choudhry writes in 'The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect', that 'the Śaka and Kushan kings who reigned from the Ist century B. C. to the third century A.D. were usually Śaivites or Buddhists, and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva."[2]

IV. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Marriage. The Śakas married Indian ladies also. Nahapāna probably had an Indian wife and his daughter Dakṣamitrā was thus given an Indian name. Rudradāman gave his daughter to a Sātavāhana king. Similarly Rudradharā-Bhaṭṭārika, the daughter of a *Mahārāja* of Ujjain, was married to an Indian prince *Vīra Purusadatta*,

1 'Currency Problems of Ancient India', J. of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXX, 1938, p. 36. 2 p. 100.

the second king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Āndhra country.[1] Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena I, was the chief queen of probably an Indian prince. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* refers to the intermarriage of the inhabitants of the *Śakadvīpa* and the Yādava Indians.[2]

Satī custom among the Scythians. Dr. A. S. Altekar has given the following information on this point :—

"The Scythian influence further helped the spread of the custom (satī). A considerable portion of northern India was under the rule of Scythians from *circa* 150 B. C. to *circa* 250 A.D. and among them the custom of burning the wife along with the remains of a departed chief was quite common."[3]

Physiognomy. It is clear from the coins that the Śakas wore long hair, which hung on the back down to the upper part of the neck. The head was covered with a cap. There is an ornament round the neck. The nose was long, and the Śaka princes had a moustache but did not grow beards.

The Śakas had red faces. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* it is laid down that the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas are to be represented with reddish yellow faces. The fact that the Śaka women had red cheeks has been already pointed out.[4]

Friendship. There existed a high type of friendship in certain Śaka circles. One solitary example has come down to us in an inscription, where the memory of a Śaka friend who sacrificed his own life for the sake of a friend, is kept alive.

1 E. I., Vol. XX, p. 19 f. 2 Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 171. 3 The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p. 147. 4 Above p. 18, No. 13.

Food and drink. The general food of the Śakas was wheat-flour,[1] meat[1] and onion.[2] *Mādhvīka*,[1] an intoxicating drink, was used by them.

Language. The Śakas adopted Prākrit as their court language. This Prākrit was written in Brāhmī characters, an Indian alphabet. Greek letters were used on coins for some time, but later on fell into disuse. The Śakas came to Kathiawar from Sindh. They brought the Kharoṣṭhī script with them, which also fell into disuse later on. Sanskrit was also learnt by them. Rudradāman I boasts of his familiarity with so many *śāstras.* Authors like Śakavṛddhi and others were writing. On the authority of *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* it can be stated that some Śaka learned men were connected with ancient Indian states.[3] They all show their love for Sanskrit.

Further light on the Śaka language has been thrown by Dr. Sten Konow. He writes:—

"The modern language of Wakhān is a Śaka dialect. In Shang-mi, the northern part of Chitrāl, the Chinese pilgrim Hüantsang was told that the king was of the Sākya race, and this Sākya is evidently a misunderstanding of Sāka. And in Laghman, which probably belonged to the Kuei-Shuang principality, traces of the Sakas seem to be indicated in a passage of Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇī: *Lampākās tu muraṇḍāh syūh.*"[4]

Luders supplies the following information on the Śaka language :—

"The spelling *śī* for *si* in *śīdhanā* can be paralleled

1 Above p. 15, No. 6. 2 Above p. 18, No. 13, See also Bhāratavarṣa kā Itihāsa by Bhagavad Datta, 1940, p. 172.

3 मधुः समधुश्चैव सिद्धः नमस्तदा ।
रघवः शूद्रवर्णस्तु शकजातास्तथापरे ॥९६॥

4 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 14.

by the transition of *s* into *śś* before palatal vowels in the Śaka language; *cf.* *śśāra*, *śśāna*, *śśīya*. The insertion of *r* also which here appears in *svarvachchhara* is frequent in Śaka in Indian loan-words such as *avaśśirshṭa* = *avaśishṭa*, *Armāhāya* = *Amitāyu*, etc."[1]

Pronunciation. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata* attributes the *Śakāra* dialect to the Śakas.[2] Some commentators[3] of the work of *Bharata* are of opinion that those who use *śa* instead of *sa* in their speech are called *Śakāras*. It is clear from this that the Śaka dialect which was in use in Kathiawar, abounded in the use of *śa* instead of *sa*. *Vindhyaketu (Malayaketu)* uses such a dialect in the drama *Pratijña-Cāṇakya* of the poet *Bhīma*.[4]

Great *pandits* appear rarely to have been encouraged in the Śaka royal courts. The names of such *pandits* are not found in the inscriptions. The Prākrit of the inscriptions is often very faulty and this shows that the help of the Indian *pandits* was not utilized.

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1 Ācārya-Puṣpāñjali Volume, p. 289. 2 XVII. 50 and 55.
3 Abhinavagupta's commentary on XVII. 50 and 55. 4 Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Series ed., Vol. II. p. 161.

APPENDICES

A. ŚŪDRAKA VIKRAMA, A HISTORICAL KING

Śūdraka Vikrama[1] was a great historical king of western India. He was a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, a man of extraordinary valour, and trained in the *śāstras*. He wrote the dramas *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Padmaprābhṛtakam.* Some western scholars have regarded him as a mythical personage. They were under a wrong impression. A Śūdraka era was current for a long time in India. This era is mentioned in *Skanda Purāṇa*[2] and *Sumati-tantra*, a work of *circa* 576 A.D., according to K.P. Jayaswal.[3] The following verses from the *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa* of *Yallayārya* give some idea of the Śūdraka era :—

बाणाब्धिगुणदस्रोना २३४५ शूद्रकाब्दा कलेर्गताः ॥७१॥
गुणाब्धिव्योमरामोना ३०४३ विक्रमाब्दाः कलेर्गताः ।[4]

Śūdraka was well known to the writers of ancient *vanśāvalīs*. The following remarks of Captain Wilford will help to understand the position of Śūdraka in some of these lists. He writes, "Śudraka is also styled Vicramāditya; and here is the most material difference, between the various copies of the *Vanśavali* : for in those current in the west, instead of Śudraca, we read Vicramāditya whose predecessor was Bhartrī-Hari, or Śacwant and Samudrapāla his successor................ From the first year of Śudraca to the first year of Vicramāditya........., there are 343 years and only fifteen kings to fill up that place."[5]

These remarks in the first few lines are mutilated. Śūdraka Vikrama has been confounded with Chandragupta I. But the lines following do contain a portion of truth.

1 An informative article on Śudraka has been written by Pt. Bhagavad Datta in *Śrī-Svādhyāya*, 1942, p. 65-78. 2 XL. 249-254. 3 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, p. 191 f. 4 Catalogue Punjab University Library Sanskrit Mss., Vol. II, No. 3465. 5 Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, p. 202.

This Śūdraka was the first destroyer of the Śakas in western India. After his victory over the Śakas, he started his era which is also called a Vikrama era.[1] This era is probably the well known *Kṛta* era.

B. ŚAKAHŪṢU AND ŚAKAHVARTHAM IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATAÑJALI

The words *Śakahūṣu* and *Śakahvartham* are found in the work of *Patañjali*.[2] These have not been discussed so far. *Bhoja*, in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, writes that 'one who invites the Śakas is called a *Śakahū*.'[3] This shows that the Śakas were invited in India before the time of *Patañjali*. This does not appear to be their invitation by the Jain teacher *Kālaka*. It seems to relate to the invitation of the Śakas from the *Śakadvīpa* to western India by *Sāmba*, a son of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, the Yādava.[4]

This is another proof of the fact that the Śakas were in India from a very early period.

C. THE ANCIENT VAṄŚĀVALIS

Captain Wilford has preserved ancient *vanśāvalis* or genealogical lists in his essay on Vicramāditya and Sālivāhana.[5] Abul Fazl has also given a similar *vanśāvalī* while describing the princes of Mālwah.[6] These are reproduced below :—

WILFORD		AIN-I-AKBARI	
1. Śālivāhana, } 2. Naravāhana, }	84	1. Sālivāhana,	1
		2. Nirvāhana,	100
3. Vansā-vāli, or Putrarājas that is to say the royal offspring,	100	3. Putrāj, (Putra Rājas or Vansavalis without issue)	100

1 वत्सरं स्वं शकान् जित्वा प्रावर्तयत वैक्रमं ॥११॥ *Kṛṣṇa-caritam* of Mahārāja Samudragupta, Gondal Kathiāwad ed., p. 5. Recently a biased criticizm has been levelled against the authenticity of this work. The work is, however, genuine and will be discussed at some other place. 2 VI. 1. 91 and VI. 1. 108. 3 I. 4. 100. 4 Sāmbapurāṇa. 5 A. R., Vol. IX, p. 161. This list is from an appendix to a manuscript of the *Agni Purāṇa*. 6 Vol. II, p. 210.

4. Āditya,	55	4. Āditya Panwār	86
5. Brahmā-raja,	87	5. Brahmahraj	30
6. Ati-Brahmā,	31	6. Atibrahma	90
7. Sadāśva,		7. Sadhroshana	80
8. Harsha Megha,	80	8. Hemarth	100
or Rāsabha		9. Gandharb	35
	437		622
Vicramāditya		Bikramajīt	

No. 1 in both the lists is a Sātavāhana king. He is followed by Naravāhana or Nahapāna. Next are placed the Putra-rājas or Putrājs of the Ain-i-Akbari, who are no other than the K ṣ a t r a p a s or the Caṣṭanas or the Śakas. *Putra-rāja* or *rāja-putra* is the same as *bhadramukha* or *Svāmi*.[1] Āditya is Śūdraka Vikramāditya, also called Viśvapati.[2] All other names except Gandharba mentioned in the list of Ain-i-Akbari defy identification. Gandharba or Gardabhilla seems to have been given a much later place in o r d e r to b r i n g him near Vikramāditya. The years assigned to various kings or dynasties, however, require careful s c r u t i n y. In the list published in the *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* of *Svāmi Dayānanda Sarasvatī*, the Guptas follow Vikramāditya, *e. g.*, Samudrapāla (or Samudragupta), Candrapāla (or Candragupta), Sahāyapāla, Devapāla (Devagupta or Skandagupta), Narasimhapāla (or Narasimhagupta), Sāmapāla, Raghupāla, Govindapāla.[3] That the Guptas followed Vikramāditya is attested by the various copies of the *vanśāvalī*, used by Captain Wilford. He writes : "We read Vicramāditya whose predecessor was Bhartrīhari or Sacwant and Samudrapāla (Samudragupta) his successor."[4]

These ancient *Vanśāvalīs*, so far neglected, certainly contain a good deal of truth. If, they are scientifically edited, with the help of more material, better results might follow.

D. THE WORD RAUMAKA OR ROMAKA

In connection with the word *romaka* or *raumaka*, discussed already,[5] it may be pointed out that the mountain range near about

1 Above p. 93. 2 A.R., Vol. IX, p. 182. 3 Chapter XI. 5 Above p. 20.
4 A. R., Vol. IX, p. 202.

Pind Dadan Khan in the Punjab is called the Raumaka range, according to General Cunningham's map showing the Punjab at the time of the campaign of Alexander.[1] This range has salt mines. A place on this range is named *Sakesar*. It may be the headquarters of some ancient Śaka colony. A Śaka inscription, the Maira-well inscription, was found in this salt range near Jhelum.[2] Professor Franklin Edgerton constructs a reading in his edition of the *Sabhā-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* :—

अन्तार्खीं चैव रोमां च यवनानां पुरं तथा [3]

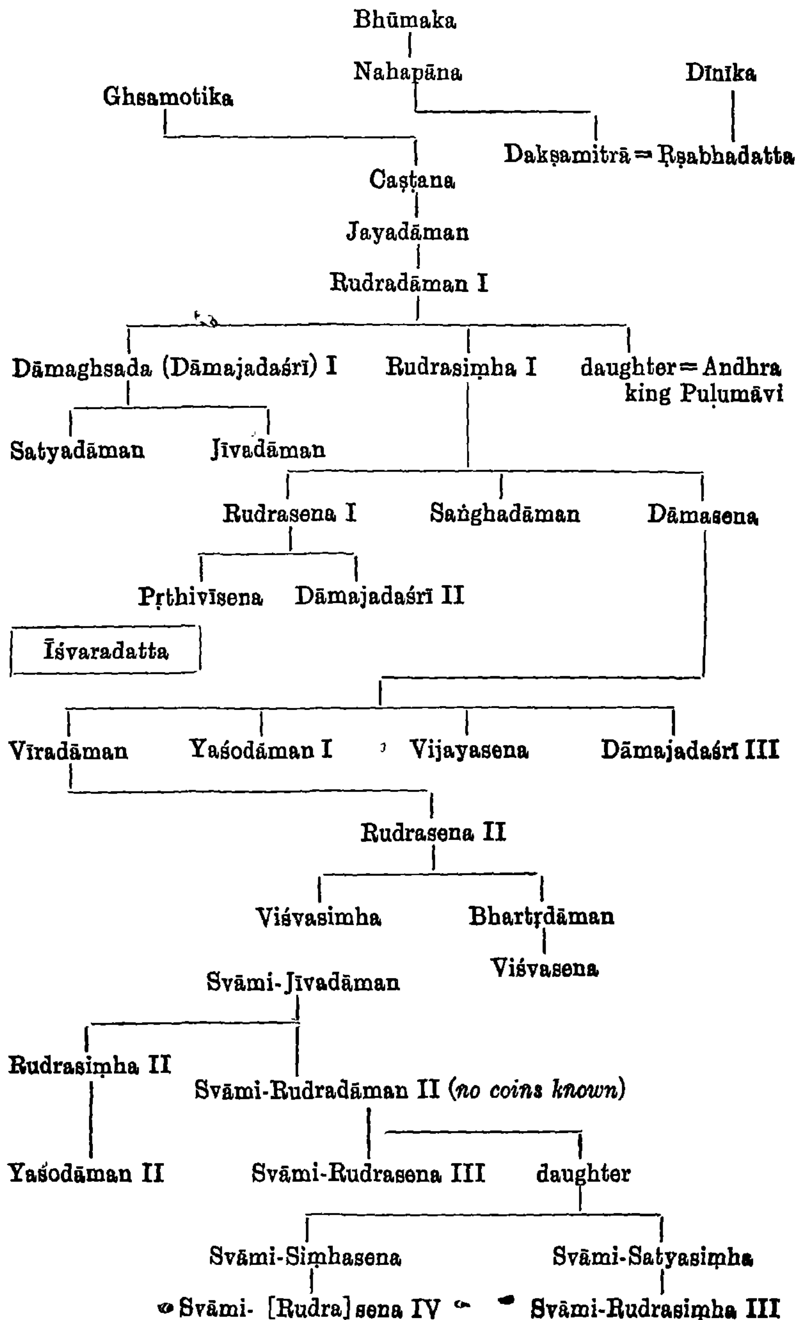
In his introduction he observes on this reading : "I have been so fortunate as to discover one datum of prime importance for its bearing on the date of this "original" text of the Mbh. In 2.28.49 occurs, in my opinion as a certain part of the original, the name of the city of Rome. It justifies the inference that our text cannot have been composed at any time before this city name came to the ears of the Indians;.................."[4]

Even if the construed text is correct it is open to question whether, *Romā* means the city of Rome in Italy or the *Romaka* or *Raumaka* town somewhere on the Raumaka range.

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1 A.S.I., 1862-65, Vol. II. 2 C.I.I., Vol. II. 3 Sabhā parva, 28. 44, Poona ed., 1944. 4 p. XXVIII.

E. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS



F. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS

Nasik-Cave-Inscriptions of Nahapāna's Son-in-Law.

I

१. सिधं वसे ४० २ **वेसाखमासे** राञो **च्हहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस** जामातरा **दीनीक**पुत्रेन **उषवदातेन** संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं दत चानेन अक्षय निवि काहापण सहस्रा–

२. नि त्रिनि ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इमसिं लेणे वसंतानं भविसति चिवरिक कुशणमूले च एते च काहापणा प्रयुता **गोवधन** वाथवासु श्रेणिसु कोलीक-निकाये २००० वृधि पडिकशत अपर कोलिक निका–

३. ये १००० वधि पायूनपडिक शत एते च काहापणा अपडिदातवा वधिभोजा एतो चिवरिक सहस्रानि बे २००० ये पडिके सते एतो मम लेणे वसवुथान भिखुनं वीसाय एकीकस चिवरिक बारसक या सहस्र प्रयुतं पायून-पडिके शते अतो कुशन–

४. मूल **कापु[पू]राहारे** च गामे **चिखलपद्रे** दतानि नालिगेरान मुलसहस्रानि अठ ८००० एत च सर्वे स्रावित निगमसभाय निबध च फलकवारे चरित्रतोति भूयो नेन दतं वसे ४० १ **कातिकशुधे पनरस** पुवाक वसे ४० ५

५. **पनरस** नियुतं भगवतां देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि ७००० पंचत्रि [.] शक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्णसहस्रणं मूल्यं

६. फलकवारे चरित्रोति

E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 82, No. 12.

II

१. सिद्धं **राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य** जामात्रा **दीनी**कपुत्रेण **उषवदातेन** त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्या **बार्णासायां** सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण शतसाहस्रीभोजापयित्रा

२. **प्रभासे** पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन **भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे** च चतुशालावसधप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग-उदपानकरेण **इबा-पारादा-दमण-तापी-करबेना(णा)-दाहनुका**-नावा पुण्यतरकरेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतो तीरं सभा–

३. प्रपाकरेण **पींडीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे** च **रामतीर्थे** चरकपर्षभ्यः ग्रामे **नानंगोले** द्वात्रीशतनालीगेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन **गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु** पर्वतेषु **धर्मात्मना इदं** लेणं कारितं इमा च पोढियो भटाह्का अंजातिया च

गतोस्मि वर्षारतुं मालये [हि] रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं

४. ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता ततोस्मि गतो पोक्षरानि तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो त्रीणि च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च दत चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस वाराहिपुत्रस अश्विभूतिस हथे कीणिता मुलेन काहापणसहस्रेहि चतुहि ४००० य सपितुसतक नगरसीमाय उतरापराय दीसाय एतो मम लेणे वस—

५. तानं ज्ञातुदीसस भिखुसघस मुखाहारो भविसति

E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 15.

III

१. सीधं राञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहि—

२. तु दीनीकपुत्रस उषवदातस कुडुंबिनिय दखमित्राय देयधमं ओवरको

E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 81, No. 11.

IV

१. सिधं राञो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपान-

२. स दीहितु दीनीकपुत्रस उषवदातस-

३. कुडुंबिनिय दखमित्राय देयधमं ओवरको

E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 85, No. 13.

V

१. .... टस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामा-

२. .... शकस उषवदातस नेत्यकेसु

३. .... चेचिंञे दाहनूकानगर केकापुरे

४. .... ए अनुगामिम्हि उजेनिय साखाय

५. .... तो ब्राह्मणा भुजते सतसाह-

६. .... वता ब्राह्मणानं गवां सतस-

७. .... भगवता देवान ब्राह्मणानं च दता

८. .... चेत्रसुधे पनरस क्षहरा-

९. .... गवां ? त-सहस्रदेन उष-

१०. .... नदीये बणासया द-

११. .... सुवण तिथ चे अयते तस

१२. ....

E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 85-86, No. 14 (a).

पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता–

६. पलाशिनी प्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्धृत्तैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम..........[यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकारमपि गिरि-शिखिर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपतल्[प]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृ-

७. श-परम घोर-वेगेन वायुना प्रमथि[त] सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जर्ज्जरीकृताव[दी] [र्ण]........ [क्षि]प्ताश्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं आ नदी[त]लादित्युद्घाटितमासीत् [।*] चत्वारि हस्तशतानि वीशदुत्तराण्यायतेन एतावंत्येव [वि]स्ती[र्णे]न

८. पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व्व-तोयं मरु-धन्व-कल्पमतिभृशं दु[र्द]........ [।*]........[स्य]र्थे मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गुप्तस्य] राष्ट्रियेण [वै]श्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य [कृ]ते यवनराजेन तुष[ा]स्फेनाधिष्ठाय

९. प्रण[ा]लीभिरल[ं]कृत[ं] [।*] [त]त्कारित[या] च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया तस्मि [भे]दे दृष्टया प्रनाड्या वि[स्तृ]त से[तु]....................णा आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्यवि[ह]त-समुदि[त-रा]जलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्सर्व्व-वर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत–

१०. सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[त्र] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदृश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविगुण-रि[पु] ....त-कारुण्येन स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपति[ता][यु]षशरणदेन दस्यु-व्याल-मृग-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व्व-नगर-निगम–

११. जनपदानां स्ववीर्य्यार्जितानामनुरक्त-सर्व्व-प्रकृतीनां **पूर्व्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृदानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-श्व[भ्र मरु-कच्छ-सिन्धु-सौवी]र-कुकुरापरांत-निषादादीनां** समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्[यथावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थ]-काम-विषयाणां विषयाणां पतिना सर्व्वक्षत्रविष्कृत–

१२. वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]त्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथ-पतेस्सातकर्णेर्द्विरपि-नीर्व्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य संबंधा[वि] दूर[त]या अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्त-यशसा [वाद] ....[प्राप्त] विजयेन भ्रष्टराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्त्थ-हस्तो–

१३. च्छ्रयार्जित-धर्मानुरागेन शब्दार्त्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-धारण विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्त-विपुल-कीर्त्तिना तुरग-गज-रथचर्य्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्य................ति परबल-लाघव-सौष्ठव-क्रियेण अहरहर्दान-मानान–

१४. वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्षेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्कभागैः कानक-रजत-वज्र-वैडूर्य-रत्नोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-कान्त-शब्दसमयोदारालंकृत-गद्य-पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रवीणे]न प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण्ण-सारसत्वादिभिः

१५. परम-लक्षण-व्यंजनैरुपेत-कान्त-मूर्त्तिना स्वयमधिगत-महाक्षत्रप-नाम्ना नरेंद्र क[न्या] स्वयंवरानेक-माल्य-प्राप्तदाम्[ना] महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गो-ब्रा[ह्म][ण]........

[र्थं] धर्म्मकीर्त्तिवृद्धयर्थं च अपीडयि[त्वा]। कर-विष्टि-

१६. प्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुण-दृढतर-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य-स]र्व्वत[टे]..........[सु]दर्शन-तरं कारितमिति [।*] [अस्मि]न्नर्थे

१७. [च] महा[क्ष]त्रप[स्य] मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्य-गुण-समद्युक्तैरप्यति-महत्वाद्भेदस्यानुत्साह विमुख मतिभि[ः] प्रत्याख्यातरंभ[ं]

१८. पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्याद्हाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां पालनार्थंनियुक्तेन

१९. पह्लवेन कुलैप-पुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन-दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणहार्य्येण

२०. स्वधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्त्ति-यशांसि भर्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति

XIV

Gundā Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I.

१. सिद्ध [ं] रज्ञो महक्षत्र[पस्]य स्वमि **चाष्टन** प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वमि **जयदाम** पौत्रस्य

२. (स्य) राज्[ञो] महक्षत्रपस्य स्व[ा]मि-**रुद्रदाम** पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि **रुद्र**

३. **सीहस्य [व]र्षे [त्र्]युत्तरशते १०० ३ वैशाख शुद्धे पञ्चम[मि]** धस्य तिथौ **रो[हि]णि नक्ष**

४. **त्र-मुहूर्त्त आभीरेण** सेनापति **बापकस्य** पुत्रेण सेनापति-**रुद्रभ[भू]तिना** ग्रामे **रसो**

५. **[प] द्रिये** वा[पी] [ख]नि [तो] [बद्ध]ापितश्च सर्व्व-सत्वानां हित सुखार्थमिति

E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 235.

XV

Mevasā Stone Inscription of the time of a Mahākṣatrapa.

१. सिद्धम् [इ] राज्ञो महाक्षप्र[त्र]पस्य **स्वामि चष्टण**

२. पुत्रपुपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य **भद्रिदम**

३. पुत्रपुपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य **वर्षशत**

४. **त्र्युत्तरके** वसपुत्रस्य प्रलदपुपुत्रस्य आभिरस्य

५. हरिद्दोवकसगोत्रस्य वसुराकस्य गुत्थजदुहितुस्य

६. कार्तिकस्य शु ५ राज्ज्येश्वरस्य भर्तुर् यष्टि प्रष्टापि
७. ....भवनम् च........................

Proceedings 5th Indian Oriental Conference, Vol. I, p. 565.

XVI

Junāgaḍh Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson.

१. ....स्तथा सुर-गण्[ण] [क्षत्रा]णां प्रथ[म]............
२. ....चाष्टनस्य प्र[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञः क्ष[त्रप]स्य-स्वामि-जयदाम प[ौ]त्रस्य राज्ञो म[हा]................
३. ....[चै]त्र-शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरिनगरे देवासुर नाग य [क्ष] रा[क्ष]से............
४. ....थप [पु]रमिव........केवलि-[ज्ञा]न-सं........नां........जरा........मरण्[ण]........

E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 241.

XVII

Junāgaḍh Inscription of Jīvadāman I.

१. ....[क्ष]त्रपस्य स्व[ा]मि जीवदामस्य एताय पूर्वाय वर्षे [ ]१००........
२. ....[व] स्वदत्तस्य वास्तुन[मू]दिकस्य वस्[स्तु] शर्म्मकस्य रामकस्य पुत्र[ा]....

E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 340.

XVIII

Mūlvāsara Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I.

१. राज्ञो महाक्षत्रस[स्य] सा[स्वा]मि रुद्रसेनस्य
२. वर्षे २३२ [१२२] वैशाख बहुल पंचम्यां
३. इमं............वानिजकस्य पुत्रेण
४. प्रति जिवितं दत्तं थ[स्व] मित्रे[त्राय] हि जि[नि] जस[स्य]................

Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar etc., p. 28.

XIX

Gaḍhā Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I.

१. [व]र्षे १०० २० [७] [भा] द्रपद-बहुलस ५ र[ा]ज्ञो महक्षत्[त्र]पस
२. भद्रमुखस स्वम् [स्वामि] चाष्टनपुत्रपपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्ष[त्र]पस
३. स्वामि जयद[दा]म-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो मह-क्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य
४. [स्व]म रुद्[द्र]दाम-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो म[ह]क्ष[त्र]पस्य भद्र-मुखस्य स्वा[म]ि-
५. रुद्रसीह [पुत्र]स्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि रुद्रसेनस्य इदम् शर्म

६. मानस-स-गोत्[त्र]स्य [ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर्[र] पत्थस्य भात्रभिः उत्थवित [ं]ख[र्गं]
७. ....

E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 238.

XX

The Sanchi (Kānākhera) Inscription of Svāmi Jīvadāman.

१. सिद्धं ॥ भगवतस्त्रिदश् गण-सेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि महासेन महातेज................ सादित्यवीर्य्य जीवद्दाम................

२. धर्म्मविजयेन शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरव[र्म्म]णा वर्म्म........ स्ता [श्रि] य स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके स[ं]वत्सरे त्रयोदशम[े]

३. श्रवण-बहुलस्य दशमी-पूर्व्वकमेतद्दिवसं कल्याणाभ्युदय-वृद्ध्यर्थमक्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिमेतद्धर्म्म-यशोर्त्थं धर्म्मासिसंबुद्धया-श्राद्ध................

४. शाखाते चतुःसत्य........तुकोयम्........इ........मापि.... ....कापि(न्)च म........ सलिलः सर्व्वाधिगम्यः सदा

५. सत्वाना[ं]प्रिय-दर्शनो जल-निधिर्द्धर्म्मामलः........गतः........प्य्........प्राच्य्........

६. कू[पः]श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितोयं शुभः २०० १........स्........स्तु........

E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 232.

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